

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

VOL. XXXIV.

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" No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away "—MILTON

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

MARCH, 1860.

ART. I.—*A Year's Campaigning in India, from March 1857 to March 1858.* By JULIUS MEDLEY, Captain, Bengal Engineers. London: W. Thacker and Co. 1858.

IN a former number of this *Review* we entered into the history of Havelock's Indian Campaign, and ended with a hope that we might be able, at some future time, to enter into the further deeds of that force, which, with some additions to its strength, upheld its name so nobly, when ended the generalship of Outram at the Alumbagh. We now hasten to perform the, to us, agreeable task, and the more so, as beyond the few pages in the book now before us, (and these only relating to the latter part of the blockade,) we have not seen any account of the glorious defence of the Alumbagh by the force under Sir James Outram.

When the Commander-in-Chief left so suddenly on the 27th November 1857 for Cawnpore, Sir James Outram was left to defend the Alumbagh with the old force, strengthened by the military train, some artillery, and H. M.'s 75th. At that time we do not know what the exact number of the force might be, but, however, it was not above 3,000; it frequently fluctuated, and latterly it came up to 4,500.

The Alumbagh itself is a walled enclosure of several acres in extent, surrounded by a strong wall, with little pagoda-shaped houses at the angles, and towards the road a large doorway in the centre. In the middle of the garden itself stands a pretty large house. The garden is situated to the right of the road leading from Cawnpore to Lucknow, and is somewhere about two miles from the city itself. This then formed our advanced out-post, and was defended by a detachment of men and some guns. Behind, and about half a mile distant from this, the camp was placed, stretching in a straight line from right to left of the road. In a short time, as the enemy showed their teeth, various advanced batteries were erected, trenches dug, and abattis laid down; advanced posts were also erected at

either flank, that on the right being the old fortress of Jellalabad, which had been recently strengthened and repaired, and rendered capable of sustaining a defence.

For some days the enemy left us unmolested, so that our brave General had some few days to make his dispositions: on the 2nd of December it became evident that the enemy were preparing batteries to the left of our position. As the days wore on, it became more and more apparent that, while we were preparing for the defensive, the enemy were no less determined to assume the offensive. On our left front the enemy could be observed busily employed making batteries; and men on horse-back, well attired and evidently men of rank, might be seen superintending the erection of the works. On the right front the enemy seemed to be more quiet; but gradually, as time rolled on, the enemy became bolder, and in addition to firing from his guns, many attacks on both sides of our position were made, but always repulsed by us. When the force was broken up at the final taking of Lucknow our position was intact. Captain Medley thus describes the state of affairs at the Alumbaugh:—

“Skirmishing went on all the day long between our advanced pickets and those of the enemy, and his distant batteries usually blazed away a little morning and evening, but without doing very much damage. On certain days Pandey would screw his courage to make an attack, and then out they swarmed, very much in the old Delhi fashion: clouds of men advancing in front and on both flanks, and coming on very valiantly, until they got within grape distance of our guns, when they were usually pounded by the artillery, and if they gave a chance, charged by the cavalry. Olpherts’ battery and the military train particularly distinguished themselves in this work, and many hundreds of Pandies were slain in these attacks by those two corps.”

The first affair we had with the enemy was on the 22nd December, at the village of Gahilee. Information having been received by the General that a large body of the enemy were going to pass us and occupy the village of Bunnee, some six or seven miles in our rear, and thus to cut off our communication with Cawnpore, about half the force moved out in the direction of the Dilkoocha road, towards the little village of Gahilee. The force marched off very early in the morning, and while it was quite dark, headed by our brave leader. On we marched, and just at day-break reached a tope of trees, in which the advanced picket of the enemy was placed; as we approached this picket we were immediately challenged, and then a jabbering, hallooing, and firing of random shots ensued. Our

party immediately divided, one part going with a hurrah after the enemy retreating from the garden, the other advancing towards the village of Gahilee, where two guns and a large quantity of ammunition were taken, so that they were defeated, and their plans entirely destroyed for the present. Our loss was upon the whole very trifling, two men were killed and a few wounded. The 5th and the Volunteer Cavalry had nearly if not all the casualties, some horses were also either killed or wounded—upon the whole, the expedition was a most successful one. An elephant from the enemy got astray and caused no little amusement running about, but fortunately doing no damage to any one; at last some of the Sikhs succeeded in capturing and leading him away in triumph, one of them acting as *mahout* with great glee. As our task was completed and the object gained for which we had been striving, we prepared to retire, with the Sikh Regiment of Ferozepore covering the retreat in skirmishing order. We had just been long enough on the ground, as it appeared, with our small force, for the news of our attack had evidently reached Lucknow, and like a nest of hornets they were coming down upon us; as we retreated, a few round shot came near us, but failed to do any damage, and we returned to the camp in safety, not a little pleased at the success of our raid.

For a few days we had a little more peace, and up to the 12th January we had only been attacked once at night in force, the Alumbaugh being the point of attack. On the 12th, however, there was a general attack by the enemy upon our position, but it terminated without their gaining any advantage.

It was our fortune to be out to the left of our position, where H. M.'s 5th and the Sikhs were sent to: a body of the enemy were posted in a village, from which we succeeded in dislodging them, but immediately behind this they commenced pitching 24-pounder shot, shrapnel, and grape very liberally into us, aiming very well for H. M.'s 5th, who were lying down, but injuring no one. The Sikhs had two men wounded slightly, and two men were wounded in the Alumbaugh: one officer had a narrow escape on the right, a round shot passing sufficiently near to contuse his arm.

The repulse thus made, and the loss they had sustained, prevented any further demonstrations next day; but it was rumoured that their third and grand final attack would be made on the 15th, when, if they did not exterminate us, the Lucknow *pundits* had it, their reign would be over. A melancholy accident occurred on the evening of the 18th: the sergeant major of the military train, while going his rounds, was caught by the rebels, and a coolie brought us in the

intelligence that his head was paraded through the streets next day as that of a great General. The cause of this distressing accident is not exactly known; it was supposed by some that he had got bewildered, and strayed into the enemy's out-posts; others thought that he had been challenged by a picket of the Seikhs, and, being bewildered by their challenge, mistook them for the enemy, and went away in the direction of the rebels, thinking he had just escaped from them.

The attack which was expected on the 15th January did not take place; but on the 16th a general attack was made by the rebels on both right and left flanks, but they were repulsed with loss at both points. On the right they charged a picket encamped at a battery we were erecting, but in which no guns were, a fact the rebels were doubtless as well aware of as ourselves. The picket had to retire to their entrenchments, and on a dense body of the rebels came, headed by a brave leader on a horse, and fantastically dressed, he was quickly popped off his horse. The Seikh Regiment of Ferozepore having received notice, and being close at hand, rushed along at the double, and with the picket succeeded in driving the enemy from the place. In their hasty flight they left two of their number wounded near the entrenchment. One of them was alive and sensible, with severe injuries of his legs; he had a red spot on his forehead, the mark of Mahabeer, the god of war; the mark was a fresh one, and, doubtless, before the attack, these men had been invoking success on their enterprise from Mahabeer, the monkey god, and god of war; this man was apparently only a soldier. The second prisoner we brought in seemed in a worse state than the other, and he turned out to be the leader, and with another officer we went up to where he lay, to see if life still remained. He had on a "meerzai," with white piping made in the European fashion, which, on being taken off, showed beneath the coarse red serge clothes of a religious devotee. He apparently seemed dying from a series of injuries which he had received; both of his eyes had been cut out by sword cuts, a piece of his skull sliced off and lying loose, his thigh bone was also fractured, and he had some other injuries besides: he gradually showed signs of animation, and he was taken into the Seikh camp to try and extract information from.

When leading his force on so bravely, he was attired as Hunoomaun, with a curious hat on, and a tail behind him, made of twisted cane, with a flag attached to it. The cap was taken by the men of Her Majesty's 90th, who formed the picket, and the Seikhs got the tail into their possession—they are both now, or were, in the possession of Her Majesty's 90th, kept as trophies of the defeat.

The origin of this rash attempt was religious fanaticism; the leader personified the god of war. His followers had evidently wound themselves up to the highest pitch of religious enthusiasm, and probably had themselves besides drugged with bhang; indeed, when the common soldier was interrogated as to who was the leader, he replied Mahabeer, and most likely they fancied that the real god had for the time entered the body of their leader, who, to do him justice, showed a bravery worthy of a better cause. He was very penitent, and owned to being the spiritual leader of the insurgents; he was a Brahmin of the dhoobie class, but some of our Sikh spies, who saw and spoke to him in Lucknow, averred that he was the leader of the insurgents round about us. In reply to inquiries, he sometimes said he was in the 9th, sometimes in the 22nd N. I.—the evidence seemed to be in favor of his having been in the 22nd N. I.*

On the next day we had a false alarm. On the 18th the camp was quiet enough, but it was said that on the 19th the grand attack would take place. The leader of the rebels, who was our prisoner, advised us to be on our guard; but he said that, although there were upwards of 200,000 soldiers in Lucknow, there were in reality none, for that they were only so in name, and that they were all arrant cowards. The anticipated attack did not come off however, and it was then rumoured that the rebels were nearly at their wit's end, being without proper leaders, or any combined plan of offensive operations. It was also said that they were greatly annoyed at the loss of their spiritual leader, that the shops of Lucknow were closed when the news arrived, and that a general looting match took place, a queer way of showing grief.

On the 21st four Sikh Cavalry were reported to have given themselves up, and it was said that fifty more wanted to come in. The rebels were said to be anxious to come in also, but wanted their former rights restored to them, in fact, the *status quo ante bellum*. The Begum was said to be also willing to come in, if her life and the life of her son were spared.

* The future history of these men may not be uninteresting. Sir James Outram allowed them to remain with the Regiment of Ferozepore under Dr. Brown. The sepoy died, but the leader recovered, was taken with the Sikh camp to Lucknow, and remained in their camp during the final taking. He was made over to the civil authorities, condemned to death, but recommended to mercy by Major Barrow, who was made acquainted with the circumstances of the case. The last time we heard of him he was sent to his village, in truth he could do no further harm. He was known in the camp as Bedekedas Hunoomaun, and the origin of his name is too good a joke to pass unrecorded. In the despatch or notice of the attack he was described as advancing bedeck'd as Hunoomaun, this probably was not very distinctly written, for it was transformed into Bedekedas Hunoomaun when it was noticed by the authorities. This man possessed great influence, and was really the spiritual leader of the Hindoos. He is said to have received Rs. 200 a day.

The last attack seems to have dispirited the rebels not a little, for on the 22nd we were not disturbed, the only event, beyond the usual firing from our batteries and theirs, being that of a few sowars having been seen hovering in our rear, and some of them being cut up. H. M.'s 34th, some of the Rifles, and twelve guns were reported to have arrived at Bunnee, and to be coming into camp, the first appearance of the beginning of the end—the final taking of Lucknow. The 23rd passed over quietly enough. The 34th and Rifles did not come in, but a party from our camp went out instead to Bunnee to convey the provisions they had brought thus far with them; it was reported that the 34th were to remain at Bunnee, and the Rifles at some place nearer Cawnpore. Between this and the 25th there was a state of comparative quiet, but it was reported that the rebels had carried their ammunition across the canal bridge of the Cawnpore road, a sign of coming fear and of their intention to concentrate themselves in the city itself. Indeed, from all accounts, they were now pretty frightened, for it was also reported that 8,000 men had gone home under their Chiefs, and that the Begum wanted to come into our camp, but was prevented by the belt of desperate men around us. It was also rumoured that a vakeel had gone off to the Commander-in-Chief.

It seemed pretty clear from all that could be learned, that we were now only fighting with the mutinous sepoy, who, their fate being sealed, were desperate as an Asiatic can be. The events of the next few days were so meagre that we have nothing of moment to record. On the 26th an unfortunate coolie was struck by a round shot at the left advanced village, and the poor Oude villager, who had only been laboring as a working man,* was soon minus an arm. On the 29th we had very little firing from the enemy; it was said that the city was in great confusion, and the people in great consternation, saying that it was of no use to resist the English.

The natives in Lucknow had it that Bareilly was taken. Two drivers of a gun battery and a native doctor of the 2nd Oude Irregulars came in with the usual story of imprisonment and escape. There can be no doubt of the occasional truth of the statement, but the number of escapes from imprisonment must have been very large, to judge from appearance; but in truth the Asiatic saw then that ours was the winning side, and

* This man recovered perfectly. The Medical Officer who attended him and the Superintending Surgeon recommended him to Sir J. Outram for a pension. We afterwards saw in General Orders that Gungoo (which was his name) had been pensioned by Government, an act of generosity, and likewise of justice, to this poor villager maimed in our service.

accordingly they came to us in numbers, when our success was certain.

What a curious psychical study the Asiatic is ! To him patriotism is an unknown word. How ready the discontented, the disaffected, and the truly vagabond were, when the winning side seemed to be that of the rebels, to hunt to the death, torture, and up-root whole families of our countrymen with a persevering blood-thirstiness perhaps never before seen since time was. Then came a period when there can be no doubt of our success, and it is astonishing with what zest the natives often assisted us to promote our dominion and re-establish order. But let us be just also, for during the time of the rebellion they could do no other in many cases, but go with the stream and give adhesion and obedience to the governing power, whatever that power might be. We never believed that the mutiny was a popular one, but when anarchy became paramount, what could the people do, but go with the stream and obey those in power. It must have struck the people of most villages and the inhabitants of most towns that in those dreadful days, when not only European rule, but the very face of an European was not to be seen, the chances of our recovering our raj were very remote indeed ; yet that to the great mass of the people the abolition of the British rule was a boon, we do not believe and cannot admit. To the designing hunter after power, the descendants of some former rulers, the fanatical Hindoo or Mahomedan, and the lawless budmash, the change was doubtless a welcome one, but the abolition of order reacted on the well-disposed, and they must have found in the new Government that sprung up, with their frequent forced subsidies and the want of order and lust of plunder in their followers, a sorry substitute for our Government, which, with all its admitted imperfections in detail, is based on those principles of truth and justice which belong to a nation professing the Christian religion.

On the 1st February we had a false alarm ; as the enemy were observed in great force near the Alumbaugh on the Dilkoosha road, it was said that they would attack us, and that while we were out, the natives in camp would fire our tents. False alarms were very prevalent at this time, for next day we had a false alarm. The Moulvie, who was now said to be leading the force against us, had, it was said, been in confinement, and had promised, if released, to drive us back into the Ganges ; but it was also said that, when released, he ran off as fast as he could.

Little of consequence occurred for the next few days, but as usual in cases of little work, rumour with her many tongues was busy. The spies brought intelligence that twelve regiments

had gone away to fight in other parts of Oude, and twelve regiments remained.

The Begum, liberal in her distress, sent a khilut to Maun Singh of Fyzabad, and ordered him to go and fight against Jung Bahadoor's force, which was steadily progressing towards Lucknow.

The Moulvie still held aloof and sulked; he had also some presents sent to him from the Begum, but he refused to go to the Kaiser Bagh to see the Begum, or to be reconciled to her in any way—doubtless he was savage at his imprisonment and at the slight thrown upon him. The Moulvie, like many other able men, was only respected in dangerous times apparently.

It was also reported that the entrenchments recently occupied by us had been levelled to the ground. It was said that there was a talk of pending negotiations in the city.

The Begum waxed more and more liberal as her danger increased, for she offered to all landholders who would come and fight in her behalf two years' free tenure of land.

On the 13th February it was reported that Maun Singh had returned to Lucknow, and that 2,000 men out in the district had also returned. Nothing disturbed the routine in camp, no attacks, but the usual firing from the hostile batteries continued. H. M.'s 75th Regiment were ordered off to Kussowhe, their old station, on this day, and marched off the next. This about the last of the Delhi force in the field got quarters, but poor old Havelock's force was still in the face of the enemy.

On the 15th the enemy summoned up sufficient courage to again act on the aggressive. This time they attacked the extreme left; a European soldier and a native artilleryman were the casualties on this occasion, the European was only wounded, but the native was killed. Rumours were afloat in camp that the rebels were again threatening Cawnpore.

On the 18th February the enemy again attacked us, but this time it was a night attack that they favored us with. It lasted four hours, and the din and tumult during that period was of the most unparalleled character: mingled with the roars of cannon and the firing of musketry might be heard the usual jabbering of the mighty host, the hum of an Asiatic ~~hade~~ ^{hade}—which once heard is not easily forgotten, and which, instead of carrying to you the idea of order, makes you believe that every one is acting on his own authority, and wants his neighbor beside him to do the same as himself.

If this huge unwieldy mass did not perform deeds of valour and behave itself in an exemplary manner, their Moulvies, Gooroos, and buglers did. The buglers kept incessantly sounding the advance and the double in their—alas!—obdurate ears.

The Moulvies were roaring themselves hoarse, and the Gooroos of the Hindoos were sounding their conch shells, but all would not do; and they retired after their four hours' hard work, well mauled, while we had only two men wounded.

The scene was altogether a novel, and a most impressive and grand one. The night was dark, and only illuminated by the myriads of flashing light, principally from the enemy's large front, and caused by the discharge of their muskets; then came the sharp rattle of their immense volleys, mingled with the flash and the hoarse boom of our guns from the Alumbaugh, while we stood still awaiting the advance of the immense hordes collected around us; but by and bye the din waxed fainter, the terrific fire lessened, and evidently relieved by their truly great exertions, they retired, and thought themselves very brave fellows indeed.

The exertions they so perseveringly made were followed up next day (18th February) by another attack upon our position. We were out with a portion of the force for three hours in the sun, and felt very fatigued and exhausted after it—we felt in any thing but an amiable mood towards the rebels. They annoyed us a good deal with 9-pounder shot from a horse battery, but it ended as usual in our maintaining our position.

Up to the 25th February troops had been gradually arriving, the 7th Hussars, Hodson's Horse, the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, and a battery of Horse Artillery having arrived, and on the 25th the whole Cavalry, the Horse Artillery, and nearly all our Right Brigade went out to the right to try and catch a couple of horsed guns which had been annoying us lately. We perfectly succeeded bringing in a 9-pounder gun and a 24-pounder howitzer, with 12 horses belonging to them, and we succeeded in killing a great many of the enemy besides. Towards the left of us a heavy fire was kept up as we advanced on the right; with some of the Horse Artillery and the Seikhs the village was taken with a hurrah, the enemy scampering away. But the hottest work took place nearer Jellalabad, where our force in most part advanced to capture the guns. Our casualties for the day were four men killed and thirty-two wounded, upwards of twenty horses were also disabled. Our casualties were principally caused by musketry fire from trees, the sepoys having hit upon this mode of fighting, at last they were dislodged principally by grape shot, but not without having caused no little trouble. This was not the first time they had tried firing down from trees. When the Commander-in-Chief relieved Lucknow, the enemy tried the same plan at the Mahomed Bagh.

On the same evening, about 5 p. m., the enemy, doubtless not a little enraged at the loss they had sustained, commenced a most terrific fire of musketry upon our position to the right, which continued until 3 next morning. They attacked us repeatedly on that side, and were always repulsed with loss; the rumour next day in camp was to the effect that in two days they would exterminate us. Meanwhile we were cheered by the news that Brigadier General Franks had attacked Sultanpore and taken twenty guns, nine of them being of large calibre, without losing a single man. It was also said that Peel's battery, with the 42nd and 93rd, were in camp some few miles off. The Commander-in-Chief arrived in the camp, collecting in our rear, and on the 1st March he paid our camp a visit, again returning to his camp some miles off. The enemy were very quiet, and it was rumoured among us that they were deserting the city in large numbers.

On the 3rd March, the Commander-in-Chief, with the 42nd, 34th, 38th, 53rd, 93rd, and Coke's Rifles, ten troops of artillery, and a large body of cavalry, marched past. This imposing force, although quite [redacted] was scarcely discernible from a heavy shower of rain. In [redacted] very short time we heard, to our surprise, his guns and musketry on our right flank, and they proceeded on to the Dilkoosha, overcoming all obstacles, capturing two guns, and having only a few slightly wounded. Doubtless the easy manner in which the force got so far in advance was owing to the Commander-in-Chief not having halted, but pushed his troops on, as the enemy most likely calculated on his joining our force first and then marching on.

It was rumoured in our camp that Brigadier General Walpole's division marched the next day with the siege train and all the cavalry. It was said that the cavalry were to cross the Goomtee and cut up all fugitives. We were also told that the Commander-in-Chief was not taking the Martiniere, for while it was in possession of the enemy, they could not place their guns so well against us. We also heard that the enemy were flying from the city in great numbers.

On the 5th March came the first symptom of the breaking up of our force. Sir James Outram left us on that day to take charge of a division, the Command devolving upon Brigadier Franklyn. On the same night Maude's Battery left us, and on the evening of the 6th the Governor left us also. The evenings were now much quieter, although the guns of the Commander-in-Chief's force had been saying very little, but the batteries were preparing; so we lived in daily expectation of hearing a grand roar.

On the 10th March the Alumbaugh and ourselves had suddenly to part company, for we also had now received our notice to quit, and had to march on a dark cold night to the Dilkoosha, arriving there on the morning of the 11th. Before we arrived at our destination, we had to lie down a little, as we could not make our way to our position in the dark, and might have found ourselves on the 'guns of the enemy. In the morning, as the light came in, we saw the vast Army in its tents, truly a cheering sight to us, who had been accustomed to a small force battling against vast hordes, but here at last seemed something commensurate with England's greatness and renown.

Here then may be said to end our actual experience of the Alumbaugh. After we left, the 5th, 78th Highlanders, Madras Fusiliers, and some Artillery held their own nobly against a determined attack of the enemy. At last they also were ordered to advance and hem in the rebels, but owing to some misconception of the leader of the force, an Officer since dead, the object was not attained. And thus quietly and by piecemeal was this force broken up, which had so arduously defended its position before Lucknow for so long a period. We use the word arduously with great confidence, for most of the force was incessantly on the *qui vive*, and the camp was in many respects like the standing one before Sebastopol, for, although in point of bravery, our enemy was not to be compared to the Russians, yet in point of annoyance and preparation, we probably were as much put about as was our enemy in its standing camp in the Crimea.

We need not follow our victorious army, step by step, through the siege of Lucknow, until the final taking of the city, with its enormous defences, but cowardly defenders: these events have been often described. We will content ourselves with some few concluding sketches of camp life and character at the Alumbaugh.

And first of our brave General, whose merits every one is aware of, and whose generosity to his soldiers, and care of them is only equalled by his rare abnegation of self, and the way in which he avoids pushing himself before the public gaze. Of him it may be said, if it can be said of any one in a public capacity, that he was beloved by every one, and no trait in his character stands forth more pre-eminently than the manner in which he tries to advance the interests of, and prove a true friend to, those whose merits have entitled them to his favorable opinion. Of his bravery it is scarcely necessary to speak, yet we would allude to his charging at the head of the Volunteer Cavalry during the battle of Mungarwur,

and with his stick knocking down the retreating rebels. At our attacks he was generally seen riding to the front, with his heavy massive face, quite unconcerned apparently, and with his never-failing cheroot in his mouth, which was generally rather well chewed than well smoked. He was as cool as if he were on parade.

Of his arrangements at the Alumbaugh no one can speak but in terms of the highest praise, when with scarcely 3,000 men at first he successfully kept his position. All felt, from the complete and thorough manner in which preparations for defence against the enemy were made, that they were under the control of a master mind, and of one who, while he was, in questions of duty and discipline, the rigid General, was also the amiable private gentleman and the kind and indulgent friend of the soldier. It is strange after all that Sir James Outram has done, that higher honors have not been heaped upon him, but so much that is done by him is expected of him, that less notice is taken of his deeds, than if he were a less notable public man. Higher than all the honors he has or can possess, must be his conviction that those who have been under him both respect and revere his many great and amiable qualities.

As regards food, we were better off than in the Residency ; but yet were far from perfection beyond our rations. Little was to be had, and we were for a long time badly off as regards what in England are termed luxuries, but which in India are real necessities—fowls, eggs, beer, wine, and cheroots. But gradually, as our position became established, and the villagers round about saw that we were willing to pay for what we got, a bazaar sprung up, while the Baboos, whose love of gain is greater than their fear of danger, avowedly great as that is, brought over supplies of good things from Cawnpore at exorbitant prices, but still consisting of articles which we were glad to get at any price. The bazaar soon became a very stirring place, a fashionable lounge in fact ; lots of soldiers in easy undress, with their short cutty pipes in their mouths, might be seen wandering about the street of little tents, buying tobacco, pipes, &c., with an officer here and there ambitious of investing in cheroots, wine, or brandy.

Upon the whole, the soldiers seemed to enjoy themselves despite their hard work at the Alumbaugh, for their supplies of clothing were often arriving, and their rations, to which they were already accustomed, were very plentiful. To the officers the ration food was scarcely so palatable. Many officers with an eye for the comfortable had huts built of mud, some of twigs and wooden rafters and supporters, and the architectural designs were of the most fanciful description ; yet on two points

they generally agreed—those of comfort and warmth. The soldiers were encouraged to be cheerful by having games got up by subscription among the officers, but their greatest amusement was riding about on sorry little ponies, country tats, which they picked up for a trifle. Had the General wished his force to be a mounted one, he could have a goodly number of the equine species in camp, and lots of soldiers willing, although scarcely able to ride them, although, as they rushed past in twos, running races on the native saddle, they seemed to think themselves pretty able too. The most irksome thing for all was the state of preparation you had to be in, for night attacks necessitating your generally lying down in your clothes, for when a night alarm took place, regiments were formed in front of their tents so quickly that dressing was out of the question. The cold, too, to us at first insufficiently clad, was very trying, especially in the mornings; we shivered and stood against an old wall to catch the cheering rays of the sun; but, upon the whole, the change was infinitely better when compared with the Bailhe Guard. The camp at night was a fine sight: you had the tents of our soldiery in front, and those of the officers behind, with a general quiet pervading them: a few soldiers in groups walking about conversing, while behind was the hum of the vast native army of followers, singing, jabbering, and enjoying themselves to their hearts' content. But, upon the whole, they were a rather noisy set, especially when they struck up some native air, with perhaps twenty vocal performers, and a good many tom-toms: mingled with their hubbub was the cry of that ill-natured, but much-praised animal, the camel, whose cry is literally a heart-rending one. Here you would hear an elephant some distance off trumpeting, there a troop of jackals would be "whoop, whoop, whooping," and the general din would be enlivened by the pertinacious braying of the hosts of dhobies' jackasses. We lost many a night's rest from the latter, and often vowed to be the death of them.

The native army was composed of cooks, dhobies, syces, dooly-bearers, &c., all indispensable, but of the whole the dooly-bearers were the most notable; their numbers were pretty great, and, indeed, they and their doohes formed no small feature of our camp, and among these doolies they lived. Ever ready, ever willing, they, a poor humble race, deserve a passing tribute for their services in this campaign. Often exposed to danger, wounded and killed, as we have known them to be, yet, as a rule, they kept true to us, and in the terrific rush into Lucknow under Havelock, those who reached the Residency, equally with ourselves, had to run the gauntlet of that fearful fire and arduous struggle, which at last terminated in our reaching the beleaguered garrison

—poor fellows, they had to take their chance of wounds equally with ourselves. All honor to those humble bees in the great hive, without whom we would often have had many a poor European, helpless from disease, or wounded by the enemy, left behind to a fate we shudder to think of, for were we to tell of our greatest fear, it was that we would fall alive and helpless into the hands of the enemy—the thought of this often threw a dismal shade across our not too imaginative mind. It is pleasing in the dismal record of native treachery and bloodshed to record one bright phase in the history of the Mutiny. We willingly record it also as we believe it is not undeserved.

We must bear testimony to the bravery of our troops, and the gallantry and courage of our officers, and in doing so, there is brought to our mind a very brave act which we did not record as we ought to have done in our running narrative of the blockade. Major Gordon of the 75th, having charge of an advance battery to our left during one of the attacks, saw the sepoys coming on to attack his post with loud exultant cries, apparently sure of their prey. The Major told his men to keep out of sight and reserve their fire of musketry and grape; the enemy, by their cries and confidence, seemed to think that we had either deserted or were deserting our post, so on they boldly came—bang went the guns loaded with grape, killing a number, and totally routing the enemy.

One scene we saw is worth recording in these scraps of camp life, which shows that, if natives behave themselves in such a way as to gain our esteem, they are not neglected by us. Lieutenant-Colonel Olpherts, whose name is synonymous with courage, intrepidity and daring, had one of his native drivers killed in one of the attacks made upon us, and in one of our evening rides we observed this poor man's funeral proceeding along with one European Officer among the throng, his commanding officer: it was a graceful tribute to a departed faithful servant of our Government, in troublous times, and we have no doubt was much observed and appreciated by the natives as such.

At the extreme right of our position was the post of the Seikhs in a half ruined village, and on one of the houses was a rather tall turret, on which was placed a large telescope for the purpose of observing the movements of the enemy; this was a favorite resort of the officers of the camp, who used to come up to see what was going on, and to hear the news from Lieutenant-Colonel Brasyer, the Commanding Officer of the Seikhs, who had generally spies out, and whose news was frequently very important. This officer, who has deservedly risen to a high position by his talents and hard service, had,

from his knowledge of the native language and character, a wonderful knack of eliciting information from natives—consequently his turret was the scene of many a pleasant gossip.

Space will not permit of our entering upon the deeds of regiments individually or their several brave leaders, nor is it necessary that we should do so, as their deeds are known to the world at large.* In these days of medals and clasps, it appears to us that the exertions of this force merited a clasp. But when Havelock's force has no distinctive mark until it enters Lucknow—the whole mark of that force, up to the rescue of the garrison, being the India Medal, and after that period one clasp, with Lucknow upon it—we need not wonder at Outram's defence of the Alumbagh sharing a like fate. We have attempted to fill up a small gap in the history of the Mutiny, which may be of some little service to future historians. We believe that the story of Outram at the Alumbagh, well told for years to come, will form one of the brightest spots in our annals of the Indian Campaign of 1857-58.

*The troops that defended Alumbagh were Olpherts' and Mande's battery, with perhaps another—we scarcely recollect now, Military Train and Volunteer Cavalry, Her Majesty's 5th, 75th, 78th, 84th, and 90th Light Infantry, Sikh Regiment of Ferozepore, and some Madras Sappers and Miners.

ART. II.—*Report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the Progress and Prospect, and the best means to be adopted for Promotion of European Colonisation and Settlement in India, especially in the Hill Districts and healthier climates of that Country, as well as for the extension of our Commerce with Central Asia. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. August 9, 1859.*

THE Select Committees, appointed by the House of Commons in the Sessions of 1858 and the first Sessions of 1859, to inquire into the progress and prospects, and the best means to be adopted for the promotion of European Colonisation and Settlement in India, made from time to time five several Reports of the Minutes of Evidence taken before them, but the latter of these Committees came to a premature decease on the sudden dissolution of Parliament in April 1859 without having made any final Report upon the result of the inquiry.

The present Parliament appointed a new Committee, consisting of the following Members, *viz.* —Messrs William Ewart, Henry Baillie, Gregson, Kinnaird, Knight, Lowe, Arthur Mills, Richardson, Danby Seymour, John Benjamin Smith, Vansittart, Vilhers, Sir Erskine Perry, and Colonel Sykes, all of whom had sat upon the former Committee of 1859, to whom were referred the evidence reported by the former Committees. This last Committee, after taking further evidence, made their final Report upon the whole on the 9th of August last.

We must confess that the effect produced upon us by a first perusal of this Report was a feeling of disappointment. The Committee appeared to us not to have bottomed most of the subjects into the investigation of which they had dived. Indecision in opinion and hesitation in suggestion characterised some portions of the Report, while in others conclusions were jumped to from what seemed to be very insufficient premises. We are, however, inclined to believe that the over-wrought expectation entertained by the Indian public of what a Parliamentary Inquiry into Indian grievances would bring forth, rather than any failure of industry or ability on the part of the Committee, has been the cause of our dissatisfaction. The organism of Indian society is so intricate that it cannot be understood from any merely telescopic observation. Patient and searching inquiry on the spot is needed: and perhaps the best use that we can make of the Report before us is to point to it as showing the necessity for a local Commission to elicit information which has escaped the notice of a Committee sitting in London; and to arrive at certainty upon questions, with respect to which that Committee

has, in many instances, rather disclosed a doubt than formed a judgment.

We cannot deny, however, that the Committee have done excellent service by setting at rest, in a very decided manner, a discussion which, as long as it remained open, involved danger to the fortunes of many an industrious English laborer. The Committee "think it proper to commence their Report by a 'restriction, obvious to almost every one, of the sense in which 'Colonisation must be applied to India. Though sanctioned in 'its application to that country by modern usage, and by such 'high authority as that of Lord Metcalfe, the term 'Colonisation' must, in this instance, clearly be limited to a class of superior settlers, who may, by their enterprise, capital, and science, 'set in motion the labor, and develop the resources of India" The Committee go on to remark, that "the inducements to a 'settlement of the working classes of British Isles are not 'generally to be found in India Those inducements are high 'wages, the facility of obtaining land at an easy rate, the enjoyment of a constitution framed after that of the mother-country; a temperate climate, and the prospect of forming a part 'of a community speaking our language and conforming to our 'manners and customs The settlement of India took place at 'a period of remote antiquity Its lands have mostly been 'appropriated; the wages of labor are low; its Government is 'absolute; its climate is generally unfavorable to the permanent residence and increase of the British race, and to labor in 'the open air; and its usages, languages, and religions are 'strange and repulsive to the English laborer For these 'reasons, and in accordance with the testimony laid before them, your Committee are of opinion, that India cannot compete with the boundless regions of America or Australia as 'a home for the laboring emigrant"

We are grateful to those who have, by such plain-speaking, saved us from the prospect which the assertions of a class of writers, who sought safety from a repetition of the horrors of 1857 in planting British communities here and there throughout India, threatened, if uncontradicted, to present to us, of deluded English villagers burying their hopes and their children under the jungle miasma of Bengal or the fierce hot winds of the Upper Provinces Labors have not been fruitless, which have produced a paragraph fraught with so much practical good sense as is to be found in that which we have quoted; and it is therefore in no carping spirit, but solely with a view to profit, that we proceed to notice some of the particulars in which we consider the Report defective or unsatisfactory.

The Committee, after repudiating "Colonisation," recommend "Settlement," limited to the capital and skill-endowed classes, by the following general description of its results :—

"It is stated by witnesses generally, that wherever Europeans have settled, a marked improvement in the country has followed, the various products of the land have been developed, settlers have taken the lead in introducing steam navigation, and in discovering its indispensable auxiliaries, coal and iron; in the extension of roads, and in generally lowering the cost of production.

"It is justly observed by Mr. Marsham,* that, from their intercourse with the people, settlers must naturally know more what is passing in their minds than the agents of the Government; the position of the settlers rendering them vigilant and interested observers of the tendency of native opinion.

"Where they reside, the rate of interest, often exorbitantly high, becomes reduced. The circulation of ready money is extended, and a steady rise takes place in the rate of wages.

"Another good effect of settlement is its tendency to promote the maintenance of order. A large extension of the number of settlers over India would be a considerable guarantee against any future insurrection, and would tend to lessen the necessity for maintaining our expensive army."

Now, without denying the truth of a single statement in the above passage, we complain that the Report is defective in putting by, altogether unnoticed, the hotly-contested controversy whether the signs of improvement, alluded to as attendant upon the presence of the European settler in India, are faithful *indicia* of a real increase in the prosperity and happiness of those among whom he has fixed his dwelling, or only of a state of things changed for the better merely as regards the author of the change. This controversy is not maintained against the settler merely by Hindoo and Mahomedan journalists, who might be supposed to echo the sentiments of native zemindars, jealous of a class of neighbors who rival their influence and dispute their power. One of those journalists has recently pointed attention to the following extracts from an official paper addressed to Government by Mr. Sconce, while Judge of Nuddea, a district abounding with indigo planters, and where, perhaps, the sort of civilisation which the European settler carries with him is farther advanced than in any other district in India.

* So is John Marshman, of the *Friend of India*, styled throughout the Report.

Mr. Sconce writes :—

Possibly, the main cause of objection to the cultivation of indigo is ascribable to the losses it entails, the sufficiency and quality of the crop being precarious, and the unliquidated advances being an irredeemable burden. It is admitted that planters cannot cultivate indigo by their hired laborers. They cannot make it pay. The returns do not remunerate them with sufficient profit over and above the expenses of labor. Planters, therefore, prefer to throw the expenses of cultivation on the ryots. Planters pay for the crop, ryots give their labor to produce the crop; but have we grounds to assume that the ryot succeeds in a crop which the planters fail in? The precarious nature of the crop there is no contesting: and an enquiry of greater interest cannot be suggested than that of ascertaining both, whether the ryot's absolute share of one year's crop be a just return to him for that year, and whether it be sufficient to cover the losses he incurs in a series of years. Some planters, it is said, take four bundles, some take six bundles of cut plant to the Rupee; and whether it be from generosity that one confines himself to the lower rate, or from right that the other enforces the higher, it is understood that, generally speaking, ryots are never in a condition to relieve themselves from balances written against them in the factory accounts.

But, as I understand, the connection of the planter and ryot is not simply that of a cultivator working upon the advances of a capitalist. The planter is not, and yet is, the cultivator. He selects the land, he directs and compels the ploughing, and the sowing, and the weeding. The land is "his cultivation," and the ripened crop is cut for his vats. Unquestionably, by the energy and attention of the planter, the land is likely to be better tilled, and the crop more productive; but it is more in place to consider, whether the interference which he exercises, and the right he asserts, are compatible with his abnegation of the responsibility of a cultivating farmer, with the freedom and rights of the ryot, and the adequate remuneration of the ryots enforced, but, possibly, judiciously directed labor. An advance of two Rupees a beegah cannot justify the assertion of every sort of right, nor is it in any fair sense a measure of the ryot's duty to labor, or the remuneration of his labor and his expenses additional to his own labor. Rather is it the reverse of the acknowledged remuneration of an exacted or required service, for to whatever extent the crop fails, the labor is practically disavowed, and the money paid in anticipation is written back as a debt against the ryot. It seems to me that it is only by treating the subject in this form, that the admitted unwillingness of the ryot to grow indigo can be thoroughly understood. Probably, his unwillingness is not feigned, and I feel deeply the importance of giving a definite if it were a true expression to his objections.

Again, it is universally assumed that, in this district, ryots do not retain more than a half or a third, or less than a third of the advances ostensibly paid to them. The chief or a large portion is absorbed by the factory *amlah*. Public officers, European and Native, Native residents of the district, and others, speak of this as a fact which they believe, though possibly not one party so speaking can specify any case falling within his individual knowledge. Public report may be as exaggerated as it is indefinite: necessarily a good deal depends upon the planter's personal supervision at the time his money is distributed, and it may be feared that the most commendable efforts of the planters, who distribute their own advances, are, to some extent, defeated by the mean speculation and unconscientious and faithless fraud of dependents, from which they, no more than the public departments of the State, can reckon on being exempt. My attempt to explain the reasons which possibly determine the ryot's

aversion to grow indigo would be incomplete, if I omitted this misappropriation of his advances. It is by the advances that the contract is professedly constituted; and obviously the countenance and aid to be given to that contract by the law should be materially affected by our assurances that the ryot fully received, or was responsible for not fully receiving, the consideration stipulated in his agreement.

I do not know to what extent the advance consists, partly of cash, and partly of unliquidated balances of past years. I have seen cases in which the advance, expressed in a renewed contract, consisted wholly of the balance of an account. I have seen a case in which, for the cultivation of $3\frac{1}{2}$ beegahs, the advances consisted of eight annas cash and six Rupees eight annas of old balances. Generally, I apprehend, the entire advance is in cash. This is a point, however, (as indeed are many others,) upon which I do not possess exact or sufficient information. But even the exception to the general rule must be deplored which would invoke the aid of penal law, to enforce the labor of the ryot for the adjustment of an old and unchecked debt.

Here, as in Pubna, there is the same unwillingness on the part of the ryot to cultivate indigo, and on the part of the zemindar to let indigo be cultivated. From both parties over all floats a shadow of dissatisfaction, which, however, it may veil the nature and force of underlying interests or passions, is itself palpably manifest. Both say, we do not want it, we would rather be let alone; but practically both accede, one to the cultivation of the repudiated crop, the other to the sub-letting of his estate to the proprietors of factories. But they say more, they say they act under constraint, and are unable to abide the issue of an unequal struggle. No one more than myself abhors dishonesty, or the exertion of malicious influence, from whomsoever it proceeds. I have nothing to say in favor of ryots who accept advances only to embezzle them, or of zemindars who, for selfish and fraudulent ends, instigate the evasion of the mutually beneficial and mutually acceptable engagement of planters and ryot, but I can not convert dissent into fraud, nor can I presume that the profits of a favorable speculation are, in the eyes of the zemindars and ryots, to be derived, not from carrying the speculation to a completion, but by condemning the crop and incurring the perils of mis-appropriating the planter's advances. Mr. Beaufort states, but does not attempt to account for, the motives of zemindars in instigating ryots to evade their indigo agreements. In this district such interference is comparatively rare, but, supposing it were not so, and that the fact is as asserted, it cannot be without a purpose that zemindars oppose the cultivation of indigo; indeed, they can assign no stronger reason than the Pubna ryot himself assigns, that indigo is a losing crop—but, besides, the Pubna zemindar may be influenced by other motives, which it is as important to ascertain. That the zemindar should seek a share in the ryot's advances for the adjustment of his rent is not censurable. Probably when the advance is made, seven or eight months of the Revenue Year have gone. The advance is all that the landlord sees in the shape of harvest to cover his claim, and when the real harvest is cut well into the second year, far from yielding rent to the zemindar, it may be, and often is, largely insufficient to balance the planter's pre-payment to the ryot, and surely in the mere matter of mis-appropriating advances, upon which Mr. Beaufort lays so much stress, and which it is the express purpose of his letter to bring within the cognisance of the criminal law, the remedy is in the hands of the planter. Let him not advance at all. He knows the zemindars and people are unmistakeably averse to the engagement he binds the ryot by. Let, then, the ryot cultivate his land in his own way with indigo if it be profitable, and with advances, if advances be desirable to him, paid at the risk of those who are

willing to accommodate him. It is the business of the legislator to exhaust, not to increase, the opportunities from which spring public crime.

There is no advantage in an advance itself. It is notoriously an expensive incumbrance. A ryot, who from his own resources pays his rent, supports his family, and cultivates his rice, his dall, his jute, his oil seeds, without advances, is far more prosperous than a ryot who cannot do the same things without borrowed money. It is not the apparent temporary convenience that the ryot's profit for the year begins and ends with. To be sure in indigo the advance is too often the ryot's whole harvest. But I speak just now of the general uses of advances, upon which there is much misapprehension. It is not the advance, but the completed harvest of the whole year, that determines the prosperity of the ryot. He is not prosperous, he is not benefited, if the debt scored against him exceeds the crop which he is supposed to have reaped. And, again, the advance is itself nothing, except it be the representative of the rent, and food, and wages, and more happily these sources of wealth may be permitted to represent themselves. Without an advance, as with an advance, a ryot may buy cattle, till his land, and pay his landlord's rent but this is all outlay on his part; a means to an end; and it is by measuring his in-coming crop only that we can congratulate him, or his country, upon the resources he is supposed to be the instrument of developing—an exhausting crop may impoverish the people as well as the soil. Under such circumstances, it is a striking scientific error to commend or justify the employment of advances. Capital superfluously spent is mis-spent, and labor mis-directed is lost and wasted. I need not say that I do not depreciate the value of indigo. To some it is a source of great gain, and I do not doubt that even the ryot's reluctance to cultivate indigo may be conciliated, and the zemindar's opposition overcome, by the recognition of the ryot's right to retain a profitable interest in the produce.

Mr. Sconce is a Member of the Legislative Council of India, to which post he was raised from the Bench of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, to the universal regret of the suitors and practitioners of that Court, whose respect he had gained by his able, zealous, and impartial discharge of his judicial duties. What such a man writes has imperative claims to attention. We do not take his letter, as the native journalist to whom we have alluded would have us do, as proof that indigo-planting is an unmitigated evil, but we do say that it discloses good ground for an investigation into the relations between planter, zemindar, and ryot, without which any inquiry into the subject of European Settlement in India must be regarded as most incomplete. We are far from thinking that such an investigation would give a result unfavorable to the planter. We cannot indeed conceal our belief that the ryot is often an unwilling cultivator of indigo, working under pressure, applied by means partly lawful partly unlawful. We observe, even while we are writing, a proposition going the round of the Indian Press for securing a supply of laborers for the tea plantations now in the course of formation in Assam, by procuring an Act to be passed by the Legislature prohibiting the cultivation of the poppy in that district. This well illustrates the disposition of the European

to use means more effective than mere persuasion to introduce his improvements among the less energetic Asiatics. We do not imagine that the Legislature will interfere, but we have little or no doubt that the poppy will die out in Assam; while the proposition we have noticed shows that the legitimate influence of the tea plant is not sufficiently powerful for the extirpation of its rival. Similarly we feel pretty sure that the complaint, that indigo cultivation is to some extent forced upon the ryot, is not without foundation. But we also shrewdly suspect that the inquiry which would establish that fact would bring to light the existence of a system of land tenure in India such that no new or improved cultivation can be introduced without more or less compulsion upon the ryot. The agricultural laborer has been patronised by the British Indian Legislature into a state of independence, which enables him, if his legal rights be fully respected, most effectually to oppose his inertia against the march of improvement. We hold it to be utterly impossible that the resources of any country should be efficiently developed, while the land is parcelled out into small holdings among that class which is socially in the position of the English day laborer, more especially where the climate and soil are such that life can be sustained without discomfort by a very insignificant amount of exertion. Yet to bring the country into the condition just described has, at any rate as regards Bengal, been the aim of British legislation for India. The rights of the ryots were, when the East India Company began its course of rule, in a great measure undefined, and, where defined, rather theoretical than realised in actual engagement. Those of all, except the comparatively small number called *khoddhast ryots*, were liable to be swept away by the title of the zemindar, to whom they were subservient, being brought to the hammer at a sale for arrears of Government revenue. Precarious as were such rights, they were lightly prized, and would have been unregretfully relinquished. The policy of the East India Company has been to uphold and strengthen them. By so doing, the Company, whether willingly or unwillingly, raised an obstacle to the progress of European settlement far more powerful than statutes authorising the deportation of interlopers, the corruption and inefficiency of the Police, Black Acts, or Land Revenue Laws. It remained, however, for the Queen's Government to put the finishing stroke to the work of excluding the European from India.

By Act X. of 1859, it is enacted that—

“ Every ryot who has cultivated or held land for a period of twelve years has a right of occupancy in the land so cultivated or held by him, whether it be held under pottah or not,

‘so long as he pays the rent payable on account of the same ;
 ‘but this rule does not apply to khomar, neej-jote, or seer land
 ‘belonging to the proprietor of the estate or tenure, and let by
 ‘him, on lease, for a term, or year by year, nor (as respects the
 ‘actual cultivator) to lands sub-let for a term, or year by year,
 ‘by a ryot having a right of occupancy. The holding of the
 ‘father, or other person from whom a ryot inherits, shall be
 ‘deemed to be the holding of the ryot within the meaning
 ‘of this Section.”

This Act, under the seemingly harmless title of “an Act
 ‘to amend the law relating to the recovery of rent in the Pre-
 ‘sidency of Fort William in Bengal,” has, in fact, changed the
 tenure of the larger portion of the soil of that Presidency.
 The cottier, who has, or whose forbears have been twelve years
 on the estate, is made the real landholder. The “proprietor of
 the estate,” so called in mere mockery, has but the right to
 demand the rent. By another Act, No. XI. of the same year,
 the highly favored ryot is protected from any attempt to dis-
 turb him in the possession of his ancestral estate of a few
 roods by means of the operation of the Revenue Sale Laws,
 hitherto used periodically to clear estates of incumbrances.
 The 37th Section of the last mentioned Act provides that “no
 ‘purchaser of an estate in the permanently settled districts of
 ‘Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, sold for the recovery of arrears of
 ‘land revenue, shall be entitled to eject any ryot having a right
 ‘of occupancy at a fixed rent, or at a rent assessable according
 ‘to fixed rules, under the laws in force, or to enhance the rent
 ‘of any such ryot otherwise than in the manner prescribed by
 ‘such laws, or otherwise than the former proprietor, irrespec-
 ‘tively of all engagements made since the time of settlement,
 ‘may have been entitled to do ”

The effect of these Acts will be to stereotype its present
 appearance of alternate jungle and rice-fields upon the face of
 Lower Bengal, yet the Parliamentary Committee, sitting at
 Westminster to report upon the means of promoting the im-
 provement of Indian agriculture, makes its report in complete
 ignorance of their existence. This is abundantly evident from
 the following remarks contained in the Report on the subject
 of “legal title to land ”

One of the great defects felt by settlers in the present state of the law is
 the difficulty of proving the legal title to land. It may be often said that
 the purchaser of land does not know what he purchases. After a purchase,
 it would appear that numerous fictitious claimants to the property start
 into existence to question the title, and disturb the repose of the purchaser.
 A power to call the claimant at once into Court would probably stop these
 fictitious claims. The ryot's title to the land should be ascertained. The

ryot's rights (says Mr. Underhill) have been left uncertain in Bengal since the time of Lord Cornwallis. The consequence has been the occurrence of frequent conflicts between the zemindars and ryots. But the ryots are generally at the mercy of the zemindars. There is in Bengal a class called the *khoodkhas* ryots, holding land under an hereditary tenure of uncertain origin. It is desirable, for the security of dealings in land, that their position should be declared by law. Boundary disputes are frequent. Floods often cause an immense change in the boundaries of land, and give rise to undue claims on the part of the Government. Another complaint, especially on the part of the land-owners in Bengal, is, that when the zemindaree or superior estate is forfeited, a subordinate estate, the putnee, is also involved in the forfeiture. In such a case, the under-tenant or putneedar is liable to loss, perhaps to ruin, for the act or omission of the zemindar, or the zemindar's agent. It has been attempted to remedy this defect by a Lands Sale Bill, introduced by Mr. Grant, which, though excellent in its object, appears not to have been passed, owing to some objections of detail. It has been much urged upon the Committee that the putneedar should be allowed to exempt himself from forfeiture by paying his portion of the land-tax separately, without being liable for the non-payment of his landlord, the zemindar. As British settlers are frequently holders of putnees, the question is one of great importance to them. Forfeitures sometimes arise from slight, perhaps from unavoidable causes, as from the agent omitting to pay his land-tax duly four times a year, or from its non-payment before sunset, or from the vendor withholding a part of the land tax, or it may happen from the fraud, as well as from the negligence of the native. Thus, the natives, by means of a secret trust, or *benamie*, as it is called, may annul, or encumber with a law-suit of many years' duration, the bargain for transfer which he has made with an European. Or in the case of putnees, the zemindar, having received a sum from his proposed under-tenant or putneedar, makes default to the Government, forfeits his estate, and re-buys it under a false name, under which operation the putnee disappears. A forfeiture again may sometimes happen from want of due attention to forms on the part of the Government Collector, whence, many years afterwards, a bargain may be overturned. It has been suggested that the Collector should make preliminary inquiries that, after due inquiry and sale, no appeal should be allowed, that registration should be made of all transfers of property, and that such registration should be compulsory.

The framers of the above paragraph were ignorant as well of the discouragement which recent legislation had offered to the European settler by enactments, the effect of which will be to oblige him to put each improvement which he may be anxious to introduce to the vote of a village population possessing the right of universal suffrage, as of the attempts which had been made in his favor, with a view to give him greater security in his relation of under-tenant of the zemindar. The Act above alluded to, No. X. of 1859, contains provisions for a mode of registration of talookdaree and other similar tenures, and of farms for terms of years held immediately of the proprietors of estates, by which such tenures and farms, after being sanctioned by the Revenue authorities, may be secured against any auction purchaser at a sale for arrears of revenue, including the

Government. Thus both for good and evil legislation in Calcutta had anticipated suggestion from Westminster.*

We think we have shown enough, in connection with the single subject of land tenure, to make good our proposition that the labors of the Parliamentary Committee can be regarded as merely preliminary to a more complete and minute investigation, which a Committee working in India would be alone able to conduct in a satisfactory manner. An examination of the Report under other heads would serve to strengthen our position. The law of contract is noticed, in order to introduce a suggestion that a narrower limitation of the time within which actions on contract may be brought might be introduced with advantage. We, who are on the spot, know that this had already been done by an Act passed in May 1859. The difference of opinion among Indian Law-reformers as to the expedience of making English the language of the Courts of Justice is glanced at; but the competence of the Committee to deal with the question may be doubted, when we observe them attaching credit to the statement that "the language now used in the courts of Bengal, the *Hindee* (!), is not generally understood by the people of Bengal, nor very much more understood than the Persian language (then the legal language) was ten years ago." The existence of the "Black Act" controversy has not escaped the Committee, but they offer no opinion on either side. The police and the roads of India are alike condemned, but the Committee, with the limited information which it possesses, does not venture to suggest any plan for the improvement of the one or the other. An opinion is expressed that "the dangerous effect of the climate of India has been considerably exaggerated," but it is evident that the Committee has been mainly helped to arrive at such a conclusion by the English-farmer-like complexion of the retired and re-invigorated planters who attended to give evidence before them at Westminster. The practicability of rearing a family in the plains, and the alleged "dying out" of European stocks planted in India, are not entered into. The Hill Districts are glanced at, but it is with the eye of a tourist rather than of a statist. The products, vegetable and mineral, of India, are enumerated in a style which might be considered masterly in a speech from the hustings, but which to capitalists looking out for investment must appear to partake of the character of vagueness. The "constitutional question," as it

* This article was written before the disturbances, which lately assumed so threatening an appearance, in the Indigo Districts of Lower Bengal had commenced. The Commission for holding an investigation into the relation between Planter, Zemindar, and Ryot, recommended by the writer, has now become an acknowledged necessity.

may be termed, of India is disposed of in the following curt sentences:—

“There is one very important point on which the witnesses appear to concur: that is, the introduction of non-official Europeans and Natives into the Council of India. The example of Ceylon is quoted to show the good effects of this reform. It is stated that one of the defects of the Legislative Council is a want of local knowledge. Such knowledge the reform suggested would supply.”

The fact is that the Committee had not, and could not have, before them a sufficient body of evidence to furnish materials for a Report worthy of a subject of such vast importance as the means of applying the energy, capital, and skill of England to the development of the natural wealth of India. The Indian witnesses examined consisted of about a dozen planters, half a dozen engineers, half a dozen civilians, four or five officers in political employ, two or three surgeons, three lawyers, five travellers, two missionaries, and two newspaper editors. With information elicited from so limited a number of sources we might expect the Committee rather to indicate than to investigate the lines of inquiry into which the subject before them ramifies, and this is precisely what we think has been effected by them in their Report.

What we now require is a Committee or a series of Committees to be appointed by the Legislative Council, composed of members representing the different interests involved in the subject of the inquiry to be prosecuted by each Committee, to hold their investigations in those localities where evidence relevant to the matter under investigation most abounds, and furnished with powers to compel the attendance of witnesses. There is no country in the world where information more frequently “with unexpected light surprises” the local searcher after truth. How long, for instance, may we ask, might a Parliamentary Committee on Indian Finance have sat at Westminster, before it would have discovered that Indian town populations, whom the imposition of an Income Tax might perhaps drive to revolt, would accept, almost with enthusiasm, a scheme of octroi duties; how long before it would have arrived at the fact, that the native capitalist, if he must submit to a direct tax, would prefer to satisfy the wants of Government at once by the contribution of a lump sum out of his principal, rather than submit to an annual deduction from his income?

We may shortly recapitulate a few of the subjects to which we should wish the attention of our local Committees to be directed.

First would come land tenure and relations between capital and agricultural labor.

We have said before, that we do not suppose that the planter has any cause to fear to have this subject opened up. We observe that, by way of set-off against the statements contained in Mr. Sconce's letter above quoted, an indigo planter, who has the management of one of the most extensive concerns in Bengal, and has no less than 467 villages connected with the property under his charge, has recently resuscitated the following remarks made by the late well-known Rammohun Roy :— "As to the indigo planters, I beg to observe that I have travelled 'through several districts in Bengal and Behar, and I found 'the natives residing in the neighborhood of indigo plantations 'evidently better clothed and better conditioned than those 'who lived at a distance from such stations. There may be 'some partial injury done by the indigo planters: but, on the 'whole, they have performed more good to the generality of the 'natives of this country than any other class of Europeans, 'whether in or out of the service." We also observe that the same gentleman addressing the public journals fearlessly challenges the appointment of a Committee, such as we advocate, asserting that "the result of inquiry would triumphantly 'exhibit at the present time a realisation of the conclusions 'drawn by the gifted Rammohun Roy thirty years ago."

We want a full report on the roads and the police of India. The Committee do little more than tell us that both are bad as bad can be. This we unfortunately knew but too well before. How should they be made better, and at what and whose cost? What main routes ought to be opened at the expense of the general revenues, and for each is the rail, the road, or the canal the more suitable? By what municipal system should a network of practicable bye-roads be spread over the country? and to what extent and by what means would it be advisable to levy tolls? What organisation of police would be at once safe and efficient? How should the detective and protective elements be apportioned? How far should central and how far local management be called into play? What are the existing police funds? What rates would be necessary to maintain an improved force, and upon whom would they properly fall?

We want a good account of the Hill districts. The information given to us upon this subject by the Committee is contained in the following passages, extracted from their Report.—

One of the special branches of the subject referred to the consideration of your Committee was the fitness of the Hill Districts of India for the reception of European Settlers. "There is hardly a province throughout

India," states an eminent medical man, Mr. Martin, "where there are not mountain-ranges available for civil and military residence." Mr. Martin's attention was first called to this circumstance with reference to the army, and he has long since submitted to the Government of India a report on the necessity for the preservation of the European army of the permanent removal of a portion of it to the hills. "The monotony of a barrack life on the plains of India, without congenial employment or resource," is stated by several witnesses "to be destructive both to mind and body of the soldier."

It is said that settlement in the hills will tend more than any other circumstance to attach European families to India. The capitalist, living himself in a higher climate, may direct the progress of labor in the plain. Railways will give a great facility to residence in the hills. One is already contemplated to Darjeeling. It is stated that these "hill-climates" have not been sufficiently explored. Many reports have been written upon them; but it is desirable that agents on the spot should more closely examine them, and that their researches should be made public. So far as your Committee have inquired, climates favorable to European health may be found at a due elevation on the Himalayas, on the Neilgherries, and on other hill ranges yet incompletely explored, especially in the south of India. At about 4,000 feet above the sea level the Himalayas offer an European climate. On the eastward portion, indeed, of that extensive range, the prevalence of rain may be frequently a serious objection, though not so formidable as is generally supposed. Further to the westward the rain-fall sensibly diminishes. It has been suggested that asylums, like those originated by the lamented Sir Henry Lawrence, might be advantageously formed on the hills, where, in a climate like that of our own country, the children of soldiers and of other persons might be trained, with a special view to the practical improvement of India, and to the acquisition of a knowledge of the people and the country. Mechanics and practical agriculturists are greatly wanted in India. The planters state that young men acquainted with the native languages are much required for their establishments. Thus educated, they might also be employed, as commercial travellers are in this country, for extending the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain and of Europe in the east.

Few objects of contemplation, can be more interesting than the formation and progress of these establishments on the hills. The rapid rise of the settlement at Darjeeling, in Sikhim, about 300 miles north of Calcutta, is described in the interesting evidence of Dr. Hooker. It appears that the population (4,000 or 5,000 in 1848) doubled itself in the course of two years.

The natives of Bhootan, Thibet, and Nepaul flocked to be employed by the Europeans. The rapid increase of wealth and population is described by Dr. Hooker as more resembling that of an Australian than an Indian settlement. Dr. Campbell, the energetic Governor of Darjeeling, established a fair in the neighborhood, by which he attracted the natives from all the surrounding countries. In a similar manner Captain Ochterlony describes the rapid growth of a settlement on the slopes of the Neilgherry hills, in the district of Malabar. In the year 1845, a tract of forest, till then the haunt of tigers and wild elephants, was discovered favorable to the growth of coffee, settlers, attracted by the facility of acquiring land, rapidly resorted to it. In the year 1856 the wilderness had become a colony; the forest had been cleared for miles, excellent roads extended in all directions; and villages, bazaars, and well-conducted schools were founded. Here, as at Darjeeling, great improvement has resulted among the surrounding natives, almost every cottage has its coffee ground; vast jungles have been cultivated, and malaria has disappeared.

There are three climates at three different elevations in the Neilgherries. The rainy season may be escaped by migration from one part of the hills to another. Clouds, throughout the summer, temper the heat of the sun. The roads are good. There is a large extent of waste land fit for cultivation. The tea-plant is said to thrive admirably. Fuel was formerly much wanted in the Neilgherries, but peat, found generally distributed over the hill tracts, is stated to be sold at the rate of 2s 6d a ton. The increase of the population at Ootacamund has been from 9,383 in the year 1848 to 56,900 in 1856. This increase has proceeded, as in the already cited instance of Dajceeling, mainly, or entirely, from the surrounding country. On these hills, it is suggested that superintendents of estates in Mysore, Coimbatore, Malabar, and Canara, might reside. The Railway will open them to residents in Salem, Madras, and more distant places. The adjoining territory of Coimbatore is one of the most celebrated parts of India for the cultivation of cotton, which may be further developed in Salem and Trichinopoly. The coffee grown on the slopes of the Neilgherries is stated, on the authority of Colonel Onslow, to be among the best in the London market. The cultivator of a coffee estate, long resident there, states his profits to have been 100 per cent. He adds that British settlers, understanding the cultivation of coffee, might certainly make a similar, or approximate profit. The lands whence this profit is derivable were all formerly forest-lands, the haunts of elephants, tigers, and other wild animals.

The Pulney Hills, although not so high, are stated to enjoy a delightful climate. They, too, will be opened by the completion of Railways. The climate of the Shevaroy and Coimamully Hills is favorably described. Their maximum height is said not to exceed 4,500 feet. The Baramah, Coimbatore, and Travancore Hills are said to be still unexplored. It is stated that there is no part of India of which we know so little as of Travancore.

The "resources of Mysore," says Colonel Onslow, "are not generally known." Of all countries, he adds, "it is the most favorable for settlement." The country of Mysore rises high above the sea, having an average altitude of about 1,500 feet, in the south, of nearly 3,000 feet. Many English pensioners and other inhabitants are settled there at present, much preferring such residence to a return to England. They are stated to want a better title to land reclaimed from the jungle, and an immunity from the chance of future arbitrary taxation by the native Government. Mysore contains an estimated population of 4,000,000. It is said to produce coffee, sugar, wheat, oil-seeds, hemp, cattle of a remarkably fine breed, and it is probably capable of producing tea. The climate, during eight or nine months of the year, is very suitable for Europeans; fever however, is found there. Bangalore is a most healthy region, it is 2,800 feet above the sea-level. Many Europeans reside at Bangalore, Chapels, churches, and other public buildings already give it a European character. Soldiers marry and settle there, and live, as it is stated, in a climate far superior to that of Europe. The vicinity of the Neilgherries and other Hills give European families the benefit of a change, when a change is needed. The wages of labor are very low in Mysore; capital is much wanted there. It could be successfully applied to the cultivation of coffee and sugar, and of cotton also, a very fine quality having been produced. The cultivation of sugar, especially under the influence of irrigation, is greatly increasing. The quality of the coffee is very fine, the price it brings being nearly equal to the price of Mocha. The jungle land in Mysore is put up to sale; it is sold free from land-tax. The production of wool is increasing in Mysore, the merino breed having been successfully introduced by the enlightened British Resident at the Court of Mysore, Sir Mark Cubbon,

who is, in fact, the ruler of the country. The wool of Mysore is already much noticed in the British market. Very fine iron ore is found in Mysore, but fuel, for the present, is wanting. On the vegetable products of Mysore, the effect of irrigation is said to be "prodigious." There exists an immense number of tanks in the country, fed by the rains on the Western Ghâts. These tanks extend for miles, and in their neighborhood the sugar-cane grows in profusion. It may be a point of interest to settlers to know that great improvement has arisen from the abolition of at least 600 taxes and transit duties in Mysore; the result has been an immense increase in the revenue. With all these advantages, the population and prosperity of Mysore are increasing rapidly. The roads and bridges in this well-managed country are said to be excellent; and a simple, though summary system of law prevails, free from the technicality of the Regulation system. Here, as in other places, where there is spare land, it is desirable that power should be given to acquire the ownership of land in fee simple.

Another favorable position for settlers exists in or near the tea-growing countries of Assam and Cachar. Not far from Assam are the Cossyah Hills, 5,000 feet high, where, in the opinion of a medical man, Dr. Barry, Europeans and their descendants could continuously live. The climate is represented as a delightful and beautiful one. The distance from the hills to the nearest tea grounds is about 30 miles. A resident, it is said, on these hills, might direct labor on the plains. Tea (the cultivation of which in Assam is adverted to in a subsequent part of this report) will grow also on the hills. Their distance, however, from the principal tea district is 300 miles. The population of Assam amounts to about 1,000,000. The country is stated to be in a most orderly state, survey and registration having been completed there. They have a simplified code of law, based on the Regulations; the parties in the suit being at once called before the Judge. One point of great importance to settlers in or near Assam is the steam navigation of the River Brahmapootra for a distance of 800 miles. Steam navigation was begun in the year 1850. The shortest voyage by water from Calcutta to Gowhatty in Assam formerly occupied, in the country boats, three months. The passage is now made by steamers in eleven days. Good coal is said to be found all along the southern hills in Assam. Iron ore, also, in apparent abundance, is to be found in the hills. The making of iron is indeed the occupation of the hill people. The streams of Upper Assam are said to yield gold-dust. It appears that silk might be largely cultivated. The people themselves were formerly clothed in silk. China grass, an article of some importance, grows in Assam, the application of a machinery is required to separate the fibre from the stalk. Caoutchouc, also, is produced in Assam. It may be an useful practical hint for settlers to know that the cost of living for one person would be in all about £120 a year, and that in three years his receipts would "cover his expenses." The country is so intersected by streams, that almost all communication is by water.

We do not deny that there is much to interest in the above general description. But we require the joint labors of medical, agricultural, botanical, geological and engineering science to be brought into play to furnish such information as may lure the stay-at-home, English capital, to regions where the profitable and the picturesque are combined. We should like to be told of Travancore something more than that "there is no part of India of which we know so little."

The products of India deserve a full and accurate report. That of the Committee does hardly more than prove how well. We subjoin what they say on the subject:—

The opinion of the Committee of the year 1848, as to the indispensable necessity of cheap conveyance for the extension of cotton cultivation, is amply supported by the evidence taken before this Committee. This necessity is peculiarly remarkable in the case of an article of which the bulk bears so large a proportion of the value. Roads, (the necessity for which has already been mentioned,) railways, and canals will offer obvious facilities for the conveyance of cotton as well as of other products. But the attention of your Committee has been specially drawn to the improvement of the navigation of the Godavery, which would open to settlers or to agents the country of the Nizam, and the extensive cotton-fields of Berar. Captain Haig states, that if the Godavery be made navigable, cotton may be brought from Berar to a port for shipment at the cost of one-eighth of a penny per pound; the present cost of carrying it from Berar to Bombay, on the backs of bullocks, being $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ a pound. Great loss is now caused by the admixture with the cotton of dirt, refuse, and water added for the purpose of increasing the weight of the cotton. These artifices would be at once checked by European superintendence and European machinery. The settler should himself, on the spot, direct the labor of the native, otherwise he will be liable to mismanagement or to fraud. Machines might, in time if not now, be let out to the natives. The sawgin is used in the South Mahratta country, where the first plantation of New Orleans cotton was made in the year 1845. It appears that, in the year 1856, 1,12,000 acres of New Orleans cotton were then under cultivation in that country. In Guzerat, it is stated, that the management of cotton is much improved: more care is taken in packing and in cleaning it. Only one English settler, Mr. Laudon, appears to have devoted himself to the purchase and cleaning of cotton in Guzerat, but eminent success has followed his exertions; his cotton always commanding a higher price in consequence. Mr. Laudon states that his machinery does the work of 3,000 natives. The good effect of irrigation on the cotton plant is stated in the evidence of Mr. Balston and Colonel Onslow. The spinning of cotton, so far as it has been tried, is said to have been very successful in Bombay, where the shares in Spinning Companies are at a very high premium.

It may be interesting to settlers to observe the statements of General Tremenheere and Dr. Moore, that wheat can be grown more cheaply in India than in America. Splendid crops are said to wave over the Punjab, which is often one vast expanse of corn. "Any extent of wheat," says Sir John Lawrence, "can be grown there;" and he adds, "sells at harvest time at about 40 lbs. for a shilling." Some details on the price of wheat may also be found in the evidence of General Tremenheere. The finest wheat is stated to have been sold at Jubbulpore at the price of 12s a quarter. Wheat and barley grow extremely well in Sind, but for want of due means of transit the grain is left to rot on the grounds. "The price of excellent wheat, on the banks of the Godavery," says Captain Haig, "is 1s. or 1s. 6d. a bushel; a large portion of which might be made available for export at Coringa."

Your Committee has already adverted to the immense supply of tea now gradually being opened to the capital and skill of settlers on the whole line of the Himalayas, and probably in corresponding climates, like that of the Neilgherries, in other parts of India. It is highly probable that a taste for tea will extend itself over India. There is also reason to hope that the tea of the Himalayas may displace the tea of China in the

markets of Central Asia. "The tea plant," say the Messrs. Schlagintweit, "might be cultivated all along the Himalayan range, so as to produce an almost unlimited supply of tea; it is cheaper and better than the tea of China." It appears also that there are different qualities of tea (though all apparently good) in different places of cultivation. The culture of the tea plant opens an immense futurity to settlers from Europe. There is no sort of cultivation, according to the testimony of Colonel Vetch, more congenial to European ideas, habits, and constitutions. An account is given in the evidence of the more advanced tea cultivation of Assam, and of the terms on which the Government of India disposes of the land. The same terms appear to apply to Kumaon and Dehra Dhoon, and to other countries near the Himalayas. The Assam Tea Company appears to have been formed in the year 1837. In 1840 they produced 10,000 lbs weight of tea; in 1858 the production had risen to 770,000 lbs; this year (1859) the production will probably exceed 800,000 lbs, and in four years hence, it will probably rise to 2,000,000 lbs. There are now at least twenty factories in operation in different parts of this province. In Debrooghur, where not long ago the jungle was infested by wild elephants and beasts of prey, there are ten plantations. The cultivation is now extending itself in Middle and Lower, as in Upper Assam. It is stated that the profits of the Assam Tea Company amount to nine per cent per annum. But it is probable that much higher returns of profit would be obtained by individual enterprise. Obstacles to tea cultivation are found in the danger from fever, (which, however, disappears as the jungle is cleared away,) and in the dearth of labor, aggravated by the propensity of the Assamese population to consume opium, which causes debility in the constitution, and degeneracy in the race. Even the children are consumers of opium in Assam. The Assamese grow it in their gardens. It has been proposed by Colonel Vetch to correct the evil by imposing a license duty on the growth of opium.

Separated from Assam by the Naga Hills, lies the tea-growing country of Cachar. Before tea cultivation began, this region was almost unknown. Twelve Tea Companies are stated to be established there. As in Assam, labor is difficult to procure, there is, however, no opium-eating among the laboring population of Cachar.

The terms on which land is held in Assam and Cachar are complained of both by Colonel Vetch and Dr. Barry. "If a certain portion is not cultivated within a certain time, all right is forfeited, not only in that portion, but in the cultivated portion also." A contingency like the dishonesty of a native agent may cause the non-cultivation of a portion of the land. The land may even be forfeited in consequence of the unforeseen absence of the proprietor. Both Colonel Vetch and Dr. Barry coincide in thinking that the settler should have the power to acquire the land in fee-simple. They also suggest that a supply of labor might be obtained by extending the emigration system to Assam and Cachar, under the same regulations which prescribe its application to the Mauritius, and that a line of steamers would promote this object. But it is also reasonable to expect that higher wages will hereafter tempt the needy emigrant from places where he is now unemployed to the more lucrative market of Assam.

Of these countries, it may be observed that Colonel Vetch states Assam to contain more waste land than would supply all England with tea; and that Dr. Barry adds, "that there are thousands upon thousands of acres available for tea cultivation in Cachar."

The war with Russia naturally called out the fibre-producing power of India. The impetus thus given to the production of fibrous plants appear likely to continue. Hemp, equal to the best hemp of Russia, if it were

only like Russian hemp sorted and selected, might, it is said, be grown within the Saugor and Nerbudda territories sufficient for the consumption of all England. The line of railway projected through those parts of India will probably have the effect of turning European skill and capital in that direction.

Great complaints of the want of a supply of flax are made by the linen manufacturers of this country. Many mills are on this account closed or working short time. It is stated in the evidence that, with a good supply, we might double our linen trade. There appears to be the promise of an abundant supply in the Punjaub. But the right mode of preparing the flax is not understood. It is considered that an agent might be advantageously sent out on the part of the Flax Association to guide and superintend the labor of the natives. It is said that their attention has hitherto been directed to the production of the seed rather than the improvement of the fibre. For the export of flax the rising port of Kurrachee would have the advantage over St. Petersburg of being opened throughout the year. Of these and other products of the soil, it is stated by several witnesses, that the best mode of dealing for an European, is to buy the article from the native instead of cultivating it ourselves.

No measure will be more favorable to the rising prosperity of India and to the encouragement of British settlers there than the development of its coal and its iron. Evidence will be found in the Report on both these subjects; rather allusively, however, than in detail. Railway communication has opened the coal of Burdwan, and will open that of the Nerbudda District, bringing both into connexion with a supply of iron. The coal of the Nerbudda is stated to be peculiarly good, and especially adapted to the purposes of steam conveyance. Very good coal is also to be found in Assam, as well as iron ore, neither of them far from the waters of the Brahmapootra. General Tremenhoe speaks of large masses of iron seen projecting from the hills of Tenasserim, and of considerable deposits in Kumaon and Gwalior. Captain Haig describes the immense stores of iron ore as resting on the banks of the Wain Gunga, a tributary of the Godavery.

The iron of Jubbulpore will be developed by the railway passing near it, it appears that there are 1,200 small furnaces there already. The people of Sheffield, according to the statements of the Mayor and Master Cutler of that place, who appeared as witnesses before your Committee, highly value the iron from Porto Novo, in the Presidency of Madras, they describe it to be as good as Swedish iron, and state that, if it could be sold at a moderate price, it would almost supersede the use of Swedish iron.

Prolific as America is of wheat, perhaps of cotton, rival of China in the tea trade, of Russia in the hemp market, a land whose stones are iron, India, England's own, visited weekly by her mail steamers, almost within whisper of her telegrams, possesses wealth more real and vast than the Ind of the poet. Yet of either wealth the statistics are almost equally unknown to England. Can it be held beneath the notice of Government to supply that information, without which the oft-repeated phrase, "development of the resources of India," is but a figure of speech?

- ART. III.—1. *The History of India. The Hindu and Mahometan Periods.* By the HONORABLE MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE. Third Edition. London. John Murray. 1849.
2. *An Account of the Kingdom of Cabul and its Dependencies, &c.* By the HONORABLE MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE. New and Revised Edition, in two Volumes. London. Richard Bentley. 1839.

SELDOM has any man who filled such important public offices, and achieved so great an amount of public good, so completely slipped out of the recollection of his cotemporaries as the late Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone. In his youth the protégé of Major General Wellesley, Elphinstone's life, perhaps above the lives of others, caused the Duke of Wellington to express his astonishment that of all the distinguished men he had known in India so few should have achieved a European reputation. It is certainly remarkable that the man who, in his manhood, was the Governor of a province and the historian of India, and in his old age was the tried adviser of Presidents of the Board of Control and Secretaries of State for India, should be remembered by the first journal in the world only as having acquired considerable literary reputation as the author of a work on Cabul. Here, too, the news of the death of Elphinstone was received with strange apathy, and at least from the younger members of our society only called forth a remark of astonishment that he should have lived so long. But it behoves us to be more chary of the memory of the best of our sons, since in Europe their recollection soon fades. Therefore we shall not suffer the death of Elphinstone to pass unrecorded, nor shall we content ourselves with a simple statement of the fact, for it would ill become us, amongst whom he lived and for whom he labored, to follow him to the grave without a single mark of affection or token of esteem.

Elphinstone entered the Bengal Civil Service at the early age of eighteen, and being a young man of great promise, was shortly after attached to the Court of the Peshwah, where he filled a post of great responsibility, and, for so young a man, of considerable emolument. Here it was his good fortune to attract the notice of Major-General Wellesley, who employed him in various important services, and particularly in negotiating treaties with an intriguing vakeel of Scindiah's, to whom Wellington afterwards laughingly said, Prince Talleyrand was a joke, and that intriguing Minister Ragojee Bhonslah. He was present at the battle of Assaye, and rode close to Wellington during the whole of the engagement. The experience

he thus acquired enabled him to assist with his counsel, Colonel Barr, who ostensibly commanded at Kirkee. As, however, the gallant Colonel was suffering throughout the action from a severe attack of paralysis, there can be but little doubt that to Elphinstone we owe the victory. So, indeed, thought the Ministry of the day and the authorities in India, and to him, with the rest of the troops engaged, was allotted a medal. We have here an instance of that versatility of genius for which all Englishmen in India had been so widely and so justly famed. Soon after Mr Elphinstone was deputed to settle the annexed territories of the Peshwah, and this task he accomplished with such justice and moderation as won the respect of the natives, and in after times caused so much employment to the Enam Commissioners of Western India to undo. In 1820 Mr. Elphinstone was created Governor of Bombay, and won by his affability and good sense the esteem of all who came in contact with him. Bishop Heber, a thorough man of the world, and who had a keen perception of the gentleman, though he was too simple-minded to understand the small trickeries and treacheries of many of the natives of India with whom he sometimes came in contact, thus speaks of Mr. Elphinstone:—

I could not leave Bombay without regret. I had enjoyed in the unremitting kindness, the splendid hospitality, and agreeable conversation of Mr. Elphinstone, the greatest pleasure of the kind which I have ever enjoyed either in India or Europe. Mr Elphinstone is in every respect an extraordinary man, possessing great activity of body and mind, remarkable talent for and application to public business, a love of literature and a degree of almost universal information such as I have met with in no other person similarly situated, and manners and conversation of the most amiable and interesting character. While he has seen more of India and the adjoining countries than any man now living, and has been engaged in active, political, and sometimes military duties since the age of eighteen, he has found time not only to cultivate the languages of Hindostan and Persia, but to preserve and extend his acquaintance with the Greek and Latin classics, with the French and Italian, with all the elder and more distinguished English writers, and with the current and popular literature of the day, both in poetry, history, politics, and political economy. With these remarkable accomplishments, and, notwithstanding a temperance amounting to rigid abstinence, he is fond of society, and it is a common subject of surprise with his friends at what hours of the day or night he finds time for the acquisition of knowledge. His policy, so far as India is concerned, appeared to me peculiarly wise and liberal, and he is evidently attached to and thinks well of the country and its inhabitants. His public measures in their general tendency evince a wish to improve their present condition. No Government in India pays so much attention to schools and public institutions for education. In none are the taxes lighter, and in the administration of justice to the natives in their own language, in the establishment of punchayets, in the degree in which he employs the native in official situations, and the countenance and

familiarity which he extends to all the natives of rank who approach him, he seems to have reduced to practice almost all the reforms which had struck me as most required in the system of government pursued in those provinces of our Eastern Empire which I had previously visited. His popularity (though to such a feeling there may be individual exceptions) appears little less remarkable than his talents and acquirements, and I was struck by the remark I once heard, that all other public men had their enemies and their friends, their admirers and their aspersors; but that of Mr. Elphinstone everybody spoke highly. Of his munificence (for his liberality amounts to this) I had heard much, and knew some instances myself. With regard to the free press I was curious to know the motives of apprehension which induced Mr. Elphinstone to be so decidedly opposed to it in this country. In discussing the topic, he was always open and candid, acknowledged that the dangers ascribed to a free press in India had been exaggerated, but spoke of the exceeding inconvenience, and even danger, which arose from the disunion and dissension which political discussion produced among the European officers at the different stations, the embarrassment occasioned to Government by the exposure and canvass of all their measures by the *Lentuli* and *Gracchi* of a newspaper, and his preference of decided and vigorous to half measures where any restrictive measures at all were necessary. I confess that his opinion and experience are the strongest presumptions which I have yet met with in favor of the censorship. A charge has been brought against Mr. Elphinstone by the indiscreet zeal of an amiable but not well judging man, the "Field Officer of Cavalry," who published his Indian travels, that "he is devoid of religion, and blinded to all spiritual truth." I can only say that I saw no reason to think so. On the contrary, after this character, which I had read of him, I was most agreeably surprised to find that his conduct and conversation, so far as I could learn, had been always moral and decorous, that he was regular in his attendance on public worship, and not only well-informed on religious topics, but well pleased and forward to discuss them, that his views appeared to me, on all essential subjects, doctrinally correct, and his feelings serious and deferential; and that he was not only inclined to do, but actually did more for the encouragement of Christianity and the suppression or diminution of *Suttees* than any other Indian Governor has ventured on. That he may have differed in some respects from the peculiar views of the author in question I can easily believe, though he could hardly know himself in what this difference consisted, since I am assured that he had taken his opinion second-hand, and not from anything which Mr. Elphinstone had either said or done. But I have been unable to refrain from giving this slight and imperfect account of the character of Mr. Elphinstone as it appeared to me, since I should be sorry to have it thought that one of the ablest and most amiable men I ever met with was either a profligate or an unbeliever.

Again, speaking of Bombay, Heber says —

Its main advantage, however, is the society of Mr. Elphinstone, one of the ablest and most gentlemanly men I have ever known, and possessing a degree of popularity and personal influence, as well as an intimate knowledge of every person and thing within the Government, which I never saw before, except perhaps in the Duke of Richeheu at Odessa. This side of the Peninsula is also indebted to Mr. Elphinstone for some very important and efficient improvements in the administration of justice, and who, both in amiable temper and manners, extensive and various information, acute good sense, energy, and application to business, is one of the most extraordinary men that I have fallen in with.

We find many other affectionate notices of Mr. Elphinstone scattered throughout the literature of the day, but we think with Mr. Warden, who, during the time that Mr. Elphinstone was Governor of Bombay, was Under-Secretary to this Government, and has written a very good letter in memory of his friend and patron, that the notice he has given is too characteristic to be overlooked.

As Governor of Bombay, Mr. Elphinstone was particularly anxious to promote the education of the natives of India, and the Elphinstone College, raised by voluntary subscriptions, shows not only the respect in which the Governor was held by the natives of Western India, but that they sincerely appreciated his efforts. Mr. Elphinstone was also keenly sensitive to the necessity of giving our subjects in India a simple mode of legal procedure, and the Elphinstone Code bears witness to the success of his labors in this direction. Mr. Elphinstone of course could not do all he would, for in this country error maintains a long, and sometimes not unsuccessful, fight with truth. Indeed, we believe, that if any man were to attempt to cut to the root of abuses in India, to promulgate a code of law, to reform the administration, bring the waste lands into cultivation, propagate modern ideas, make roads, canals and railways, encourage manufactures, and give freedom to commerce, in short, were to attempt to do all that it is designed, as rulers, we should effect, and for which the Papal States, according to M. About, so ardently longed, there would be a rebellion in a fortnight. So infinitely more desirous of improvement is the worst governed State in Europe than the best in Asia.

From the Governorship of Bombay Mr. Elphinstone retired into private life, and dedicated himself to literary employment. Of the first of his labors, the best is decidedly the *History of India*, of which we hope soon to have a new edition. It is a work of considerable research, and no Indian library is complete without it. In his retirement Mr. Elphinstone successively refused the Governorship of Canada, the Governor-Generalship of India, and the Order of the Bath, with a seat in the Privy Council. It was from no pusillanimous dread that Mr. Elphinstone retired from public life, nor from any inglorious love of ease, but it was his settled conviction that no good man should desire office for its own sake, and so long as he saw that his country did not imperatively demand his services, he was content to remain in obscurity. But his advice and counsel were ever at the service of his friends. Fortunately we have seen a letter written by an acquaintance of Mr. Elphinstone's

shortly after the death of the latter, and we are thus enabled positively to state in what direction Mr. Elphinstone's advice tended, and what his opinions really were.

Privately he was a little of a Bohemian, if our readers know the meaning of that term. He was pleased sometimes to shock the superficial commonplace moralities of common minds, who are good in their lives and sound in their doctrines, merely, because they have no temptation to be otherwise. A correspondent of the *Times* affirms that, on one occasion, he professed a partiality for Pontius Pilate, by which confession we suppose Mr. Elphinstone meant to assert that it was the duty of a Governor to go all lengths to preserve the peace. A wretched sentiment, and one that has broken the hearts of many of our best and most promising Indian Officers. Indeed, we have no toleration for the word "Political Expediency," and the late Mr. Elphinstone ever appears to us in his most unamiable light when he advocates that hateful doctrine. Otherwise his opinions were sound, and we believe have been in a great measure adopted by Sir Charles Wood.

He held the gradual liberation of all lands from Government rent tenure, and the conversion of all into fee simple; he considered that the Government of India should adopt a policy by which they might gradually and eventually withdraw from the relation with their subjects of landlord to tenant,* and should resort to other methods of taxation. With regard to legal matters Mr. Elphinstone was of opinion that justice should not be administered by men who had never studied any system of law whatever, and was opposed to the multiplication of forms in judicial procedure by men unqualified by legal practice and experience to frame them. He thought any attempt to correct erroneous judgments by Appellate Courts to be useless, "where all are equally competent and equally ignorant." He considered that a "code of substantive law was equally wanted with one of procedure," and that schools of law should be established, who should alone convey the title to engage in legal practice. Barristers from England would, as a matter of course, be permitted to practise after a due acquirement of the language of the Courts, but not untrained Civilians. It is singular that Sir Charles Trevelyan holds, at least with regard to legal reform, almost the same views. With regard to taxation we suppose that Mr. Elphinstone's views are far too advanced for any but settlers, who are daily harassed and incommoded by dishonest agents, and a constant dread, lest the labor of years should be swept away by an accidental omission to pay the land revenue, or by the pique or fancy of some incompetent official.

And here shall we sum up the public career of Mr. Elphinstone? The man who ceases to strive in the current of human affairs must be content to be whirled into some quiet rush and be forgotten. Was Mr. Elphinstone successful? Each one of our readers must decide that question for himself. If a public man's success consists in banquets or the numbers of journals that espouse his cause, if it consists in the thousands that throng to hear him speak and hang upon his every word, if it consists in the multitude of friends that surround his board, or in the thousands that are acquainted with his name, then we must consider Mr. Elphinstone to have been eminently unsuccessful, for, when all were within his grasp, he voluntarily retired from the contest. But if we consider success to consist in work done and toil endured, then Mr. Elphinstone may be considered as one of the most successful men of modern days. It is an old Italian proverb, that the Arno seldom swells without it first grows muddy. Of all the rulers we have given to India we scarcely recollect one who has not retired from office with perfectly clean hands. It would be an insult to our public men, despite the late proclamation of the Viceroy, to record the fact here, did we not desire to call attention to the great contentment of Mr. Elphinstone. His personality has recently been sworn under thirty thousand pounds! His continued refusal of all public office and emolument is therefore the more to be admired; and sets an example to the natives of Bombay, who professed to admire his character and reverence his name, which they would do well to follow. But we do not merely, from Mr. Elphinstone's public life, draw maxims for others; from his career our public men may learn that, to be respected in India and popular amongst the governed, needs only the virtue of strict impartial justice. Union Clubs and Bethune Societies were not known in Mr. Elphinstone's time, and we are afraid that, had he now lived in Calcutta, he would have been thought by imitators of native ideas infinitely behind the age. We have not touched upon the various talents possessed by Mr. Elphinstone. They are acquired by patient study, and are within the reach of all our readers, if they will but use the means. In truth, many Anglo-Indians have acquired a European reputation both for their scholarship and scientific acquirements. The electric telegraph is not the only invention we owe to a Madras Officer. But during the last centenary of our rule not a single native out of the immense population of one hundred and seventy millions, has added a single fraction to science. It is from the lives of such men as Elphinstone that we see some other qualities, besides native acuteness, are requisite to success in life.

And now he is gone ! The retired life he led of late will not cause him to be missed in the busy haunts of men. But his friends will not soon forget his gentle mien and kind persuasive tones, the advice they could at all times so readily procure, and the affability with which they were always greeted. These perhaps are homely qualities, but they are not usually combined with the disinterestedness that could refuse the most splendid honor ; nor with the fund of information that could excite the astonishment of so well read a man as Bishop Heber.

- ART. IV.—1. *First and Second Reports of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to consider the reform of the Judicial Establishments, Judicial Procedure, and Laws of India.* 1856.
2. *The Administration of Justice in British India.* By WILLIAM H. MORLEY. London 1858
3. *The Procedure of the Civil Courts of the East India Company in the Presidency of Fort William.* By WILLIAM MACPHERSON. 4th Edition Calcutta 1859
4. *A Digest of the Criminal Law of the Presidency of Fort William.* By F L. BEAUFORT, Bengal Civil Service. 2nd Edition. Calcutta 1857.
5. *Acts and Proceedings of the Legislative Council of India.* 1859.

THE Reform of the Judicial Establishments of India is a subject upon which the attention of the British Parliament has been long bestowed—in that desultory manner, it is true, which alone can be expected where the matters to be considered do not concern the interests of any large or influential portion of the constituency represented in the House of Commons, nor happen to afford a convenient pretext for an assault by one political party upon another. It may indeed be doubted whether India has not been indebted for that degree of notice which Parliament actually has bestowed upon her Courts and Laws rather to the cupidity of the members of the legal profession in England, hankering after the practice and appointments, which it is supposed those Courts might afford, than to any more worthy motive. Should this, however, be admitted to be the case, we need only recognise in it an illustration of the rule, that self-interest is a far more practical reformer than pure philanthropy and the fact remains as before, that India Law Reform has so long been an idea, that the period now approaches when those who are accustomed to watch the progress of Parliamentary gestation look for a result

As far back as 1833, when, to use a familiar phrase, “the renewal of the Company’s Charter” was considered by Parliament, provision was made by Statute for the appointment of Commissioners, to be styled “Indian Law Commissioners,” who “should enquire into and report upon the Jurisdiction, Powers, and Rules of the existing Courts of Justice and Police Establishments in India, and the territories in the possession and under the Government of the East India Company, and all existing forms of Judicial Procedure, and as to the nature and operation of all laws,

‘ whether civil or criminal, written or customary, prevailing and
 ‘ in force in any part of the said territories, suggesting such
 ‘ alterations as might, in their opinion, be beneficially made in
 ‘ such Courts and in the forms of Judicial Procedure and Laws :
 ‘ due regard being had to the distinction of castes, difference of
 ‘ religion and manners, and opinions prevailing among different
 ‘ races and in different parts of the said territories.”

Again, in 1853, when it became incumbent on the English Government to make fresh provision for the Government of India, an Act was passed, by which—after reciting that the Indian Law Commissioners, from time to time appointed under the above-mentioned Act of 1833, had, in a series of reports, recommended extensive alterations in the Judicial Establishments, Judicial Procedure and Laws established and in force in India, and had set forth in detail the provisions which they had proposed to be established by law for giving effect to certain of their recommendations, and such reports had been transmitted from time to time to the Court of Directors, but on the greater part of such reports and recommendations no final decision had been made—it was enacted that Her Majesty might, by Commission under the Royal Sign Manual, appoint persons to examine and consider the recommendations of the said Indian Law Commissioners, and the enactments proposed by them for the Reform of the Judicial Establishments, Judicial Procedure and Laws of India, and such other matters in relation to the Reform of the said Judicial Establishments, Judicial Procedure and Laws as might, with the sanction of the Commissioners for the affairs of India, be referred to them.

Towards the end of the year 1855, the Commissioners appointed by Her Majesty for the purpose just mentioned—consisting of Sir John Romilly, Master of the Rolls, Sir John Jervis, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, Sir Edward Ryan, formerly Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta; Mr. Cameron, formerly Legislative Member of Council at Calcutta, and Messrs John Macpherson, Macleod and Thomas Flower Ellis, late Members of the Madras Civil Service; Mr. Robert Lowe, a Barrister; and Mr. Frederick Millet, a Member of the original Indian Law Commission—made their first report, in which they submitted “ a plan for the amalgamation of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal with the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut, as well as a simple and uniform Code of Civil and Criminal Procedure, applicable both to the High Court to be so formed, and to all inferior Courts within the limits of its jurisdiction.”

This “ plan ” has not as yet been laid upon the legislative anvil, and from the fact of the Indian Legislative

Council having passed early last year a new and elaborate Code of Procedure for "the Courts of Civil Judicature *not* established by Royal Charter," we may conjecture that the intention was at one time to abandon the idea of amalgamation altogether, or, at any rate, to allow it to sleep the sleep from which *Macaulay's Penal Code* has not yet been awaked. Since that time, however, Her Most Gracious Majesty has assumed in person the Government of her Indian Territories, the Courts formerly of the Company are now the Courts of the Crown; the barm of innovation is every where pervading the dough of Indian affairs, and there seems every probability that, as the fermentation proceeds, the scheme of amalgamation of Courts will again swell up to the surface, and claim to be kneaded into the form of a statute *

To prepare our readers in some measure for the discussion which will then ensue is our purpose in the present article. With the scheme itself, we shall not at present deal; confining ourselves in the following pages to what we hope may be regarded as an useful preliminary, the making our readers somewhat better acquainted with the courts, as they now exist, which it is the object of the scheme to supersede or remodel, noticing, as we proceed, some of the defects which present themselves to the observer who examines the working of the present system of judicature

As we write for the English as well as Indian reader, the latter must excuse us when, "in the following pages, there may occur explanations of words or phrases with which he is already sufficiently familiar. We wish it also to be understood that when we proceed to describe the constitution, jurisdiction, law and procedure of the several courts mentioned in this article, we do not pretend to minute accuracy, but shall content ourselves with a general description of each

"The Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal" is a Court of Civil and Criminal jurisdiction for all inhabitants of the Town of Calcutta. Persons born in Great Britain and Ireland and their descendants are also subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, if residents anywhere within the Presidency of Fort William, which embraces as well the provinces subject to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal as those

* The Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to enquire into Colonisation and Settlement in India, say in their Report published in August last — "The judicial system of India will never be placed on a sound and satisfactory basis till all the courts are organised into one harmonious whole, and until by an amalgamation of the Supreme and Sudder Courts, the highest and most learned tribunals in the land shall be courts of appeal to the whole country and serve as a pattern and example to inferior courts administering law under the same Procedure."

subject to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and the Punjaub The Supreme Court has also criminal jurisdiction over all British subjects for crimes committed at any place within the limits of the East India Company's Charter, or in any of the territories of any Native Prince or State Persons who are at the time of action brought, or who have been, in the employ of Government or of a British subject, are liable to the civil jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in actions for wrongs or trespasses and in criminal prosecutions Natives of India also, wheresoever resident within the Presidency of Fort William, may, by contract with a British subject, submit themselves to the civil jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in respect of any dispute arising out of that contract, if the cause of action exceed 500 rupees

The Justices of the Peace for the Town of Calcutta are subordinate to the Supreme Court ; as are also such Officers of the Indian Government as are appointed Justices of the Peace within the provinces, for the purpose of committing British-born subjects for trial before the Supreme Court, in respect of all acts done by them as such Justices

Subordinate to the Supreme Court also is a Court of Small Causes for the Town of Calcutta, whose jurisdiction is limited to the cognisance of suits in which the matter in dispute is not of greater value than 500 rupees

The Supreme Court exercises jurisdiction as well as a Court of Common Law as of Equity, as an Ecclesiastical Court, as an Admiralty Court, and as a Court of Oyer and Terminer—being said to sit on the Common Law *side*, the Equity *side*, the Ecclesiastical *side*, the Admiralty *side*, or the Crown *side*, according to the jurisdiction which it is exercising in each case The procedure on these different *sides* is similar to the procedure of the corresponding Courts in England, with the important exception, that on the trial of all civil causes the Judges deal with the facts as well as the law without the assistance of any Jury New rules are passed from time to time by the Judges, introducing, as far as circumstances will admit, changes corresponding with those which take place in procedure in England

The law administered by the Supreme Court is as follows.—

First.—Actions regarding inheritance and succession to lands and personal property among Hindoos, and all matters of contract in which both parties are Hindoos, are determined by the laws and usages of Hindoos

Second.—Actions of the same kind, in which both parties are Mahomedans, are determined by the laws and usages of Mahomedans.

Third.—Actions of the same kind, where the defendant only is a Mahomedan or Hindoo, are determined by the laws and usages of the defendant.

In other cases the Court administers :—

First.—The Common and Statute Law of England as it prevailed in 1726, so far as it has not been subsequently altered by Statute especially extending to India, or by the Acts of the Legislative Council of India.

Second.—The Statute Law expressly extending to India, which has been enacted since 1726, and has not been since repealed.

Third.—The Civil Law, as it obtains in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts of England.

Fourth.—Regulation Law, as contained in the Regulations passed by the Governor-General in Council previously to the 3rd and 4th Will IV., c 85, and registered in the Supreme Court.

Fifth.—The Law contained in Acts passed by the Legislative Council of India, as constituted by the 3rd and 4th Will IV., c. 85, and by the 16th and 17th Vic, c. 95

The Supreme Court is presided over by a Chief Justice and two Puisne Judges, who are Barristers of England or Ireland of not less than five years' standing *

The general qualification for an Advocate of the Supreme Court is that he shall produce a Certificate of having been called to the Bar in England or Ireland, or of being entitled to practise as an Advocate in the principal Courts of Scotland

The qualification for admission as an Attorney is that the applicant has been admitted an Attorney of one of Her Majesty's Principal Courts of Record in England or Ireland, or a Writer to the Signet in Scotland, or a Member of the Society of Solicitors practising before the Court of Session there, or that he has served a regular clerkship of five years under a contract in writing to some Attorney practising in the Supreme Court, or that he has been a principal clerk to one of the Judges

The number of practising Advocates on the roll of the Court at the present time is twenty-two, and the number of practising Attorneys on the roll was, when the last Directory was published, sixty-three

The Supreme Court was established by Royal Charter, under the authority of an Act of Parliament, in 1774, in supercession of the then existing Mayor's Court, the Judges of which were not required to be, and in fact, never were, brought up to the law.

* The Chief Justice receives £8,000 a year, and ranks in India next after the Governor-General. The Puisne Judges receive £6,000 a year each, and they rank with the Members of Council according to seniority.

It has always possessed the confidence of the public, both British-born and Native, as is proved by the number of cases in which the foundation of its jurisdiction is the voluntary submission of natives thereto by contract. It is, however, a very expensive tribunal; and it would be a popular measure which should enable each Judge of the Supreme Court to sit as a Judge of the Court of Small Causes for the trial of all suits in which the amount in dispute might exceed 500 rupees and not exceed 1,000 rupees.

An appeal lies in civil causes from the decision of the Supreme Court to the Queen in Council in cases where the amount in dispute exceeds 10,000 rupees.

We now turn our attention to the courts existing in the Bengal Presidency other than those constituted by Royal Charter, and which have hitherto, by way of distinction, been called Company's Courts, or sometimes—from their being situated in the region called by the inhabitants of Calcutta the *Mofussil*, which lies beyond the "ditch" which girdles the City of Palaces—the Mofussil Courts.

The Sudder Dewanny Adawlut and the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut—which are located at Alipore, at the distance of about 2 miles from Government House, Calcutta, so as to be just beyond the ditch aforesaid—are presided over by one and the same Bench of Judges, and constitute respectively, the Supreme, Civil and Criminal Courts of Appeal from the Courts other than those constituted by Royal Charter in the twenty-six zillahs, or as in England they would be called counties, of the Bengal Presidency proper.

A further appeal from the decisions of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut lies to Her Majesty in Council in cases when the amount in dispute is 10,000 rupees or upwards.

The Sudder Dewanny and Sudder Nizamut Courts originally consisted of the Governor-General and the Members of Council; but since 1801, they have been presided over by Judges selected from the Covenanted servants of the Government.

There are five ordinary Judges of the Sudder Courts, the two senior of whom receive salaries of 4,350 rupees per month each, and the three junior salaries of 4,166 rupees 10 annas and 8 pie per month each. Besides these there are four or five extra Judges, who nominally hold appointments as Zillah Judges, but sit in the Sudder, receiving in addition to the Zillah Judge's salary of 2,500 rupees per month, a deputation allowance of 616 rupees 10 annas and 8 pie per month.

The appointments to the Sudder Bench are almost invariably made from among the Zillah Judges.

The system of courts subordinate to the two Courts of Appeal just mentioned next passes under our notice—the Civil Courts claiming the precedence.

Seven of the above-mentioned twenty-six zillahs of the Bengal Presidency, that is to say, the zillahs of Behar, Chittagong, Hooghly, Patna, Sarun, Tirhoot, and the zillah known as that of the Twenty-four Pergunnahs, have, on account of their size and importance, been, for the purposes of the administration of justice, sub-divided into two; each division having its separate system of courts, but throughout this article each local circle of courts, whether it embrace a zillah proper or a division merely, will be called a zillah, of which, consequently, there are subordinate to the Supreme Courts of Appeal at Alipore thirty-three in number.

The head civil judicial officer in each zillah is the Judge, so called *par-excellence*. Thus in Behar, which, as above noticed, has been sub-divided, there are two head civil judicial officers, each independent of the other, and presiding over his own circle of subordinate courts, the official title of each of these functionaries being respectively Judge of Behar and Additional Judge of Behar.

Subordinate to the Judge of the zillah, the Principal Sudder Ameen, Sudder Ameen, and the Moonsiffs, whom we have named in their order of rank, exercise civil jurisdiction, each holding a court of his own.

We proceed to examine the powers of each; now commencing *inverso ordine* with the lowest grade.

Suits may be brought in the Moonsiff's Court, when the value of the thing claimed, whether it be realty or personalty, or the amount of damages sought to be recovered, does not exceed 300 company's rupees, or £30 sterling.

From the Moonsiff's decision a "*regular appeal*" lies as a matter of right to the Zillah Judge.

From the decision which the Judge may pass on such regular appeal, a "*special appeal*" lies to the Sudder Dewanny Court on any of the following grounds, namely:—

First.—On the ground that the decision has failed to determine all material points in difference in the cause, or has determined the same or any of them contrary to law, or usage having the force of law.

Second.—On the ground of a misconstruction of any document.

Third.—On the ground of any ambiguity in the decision affecting the merits.

Fourth.—On the ground of any substantial error or defect in procedure, or in the investigation of the case; provided such error or defect be apparent on the record, and shall have

produced, or be likely to have produced, any error or defect in the decision of the case upon the merits; but not upon the ground that the decision of any question of fact is contrary to, or not warranted by, the evidence duly taken in the cause, or any probability deduced from the record.

A "*summary appeal*" also lies to the Zillah Judge from any order or decree of a Moonsiff whereby he may have refused to admit any suit regularly cognisable by him, or may have dismissed any suit instituted before him on the ground of delay, informality, or other default, without an investigation of the merits of the case.

There are several Moonsiffs in each zillah, each having under him a separate district. They are divided into two grades. those in the first receiving salaries of 150 rupees a month, or about £180 per annum, and those in the second grade 100 rupees a month, or about £120 per annum.

At the commencement of last year there were thirty-two Moonsiffs of the first grade, and 140 Moonsiffs of the second grade attached to the Courts of which we are treating. Of these six were Christians, seventy-four were Mahomedans, and the rest Hindoos.

Next in rank above the Moonsiff is the Sudder Ameen. His jurisdiction resembles that of the Moonsiff, except that its limit is 1,000 instead of 300 rupees, and all civil suits between these limits ought to be instituted in his Court.

The rules which apply as to regular, special, and summary appeals from his Court are the same as those which regulate similar appeals from the Court of the Moonsiff.

His local jurisdiction is commensurate in extent with that of the Civil Judge to whom he is subordinate.

The salary of a Sudder Ameen is 250 rupees a month, or about £300 a year.

At the commencement of last year the number of Sudder Ameen attached to the Courts whereof we are treating was twenty-eight, of whom three were Christians, eight Mahomedans, and seventeen Hindoos.

The judicial officer next in rank above the Sudder Ameen is the Principal Sudder Ameen. His ordinary jurisdiction has no limit in amount or value. Although the Zillah Judge has concurrent primary jurisdiction in all suits of whatever value, yet suits are not usually or properly brought before him in the first instance, except under peculiar circumstances. The office of Principal Sudder Ameen is therefore one of the highest importance, his being the tribunal in which cases involving enormous amounts of property are ordinarily disposed of in the first instance.

A regular appeal lies of right from the decision of the Principal Sudder Ameen to the Zillah Judge, if the decision be in a suit below 5,000 rupees in estimated value; if in a suit above that amount, to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut.

A special appeal lies to the Sudder Court from the decision of the Judge passed on regular appeal from the Principal Sudder Ameen, for the same causes and under the same rules as are above stated, as regulating special appeals from decisions on regular appeal from the Moonsiff or Sudder Ameen.

A summary appeal also lies from the order of the Principal Sudder Ameen under the same rules as regulate summary appeals from the order of a Moonsiff, being preferred to the Zillah Judge or to the Sudder Court, according as the suit in which the order has been made is below or above the value of 5,000 rupees.

The local limits of the Principal Sudder Ameen's jurisdiction are commensurate with those of the Civil Judge to whom he is subordinate.

Principal Sudder Ameen's are of two grades, receiving salaries of 600 rupees and 400 rupees per month respectively.

At the commencement of last year the number of Principal Sudder Ameen's in the Courts which form the subject of our article was eight of the first grade and twenty-six of the second. Of those of the first grade three were Christians, three Mahomedans, and two Hindoos. Of those of the second grade five were Christians, nine Mahomedans, and twelve Hindoos.

The Judge, as has been before stated, is the highest judicial functionary in each zillah.

He has the power, whenever he may see sufficient reason for so doing, to withdraw any suit from the Principal Sudder Ameen's or Sudder Ameen's Court in which it may have been instituted, and to try it himself: but in practice this power is rarely exercised, and, consequently, his jurisdiction in civil suits is, unless in exceptional cases, appellate only.

When the Zillah Judge decides a case as a court of primary jurisdiction, a regular appeal lies from him to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut as a matter of right.

The Zillah Judge is invariably a Member of the Covenanted Civil Service.

The mode of procedure of all the Civil Courts is the same. Until the middle of last year it was as follows:—The suit was commenced by a plaint being filed, upon which a summons was issued, calling upon the defendant to appear in person or by a pleader, called a Vakeel, of the court; an answer was filed by the defendant, to which the plaintiff replied. A rejoinder was in many cases filed, but the pleadings might conclude without it.

In the pleadings each party used to state his case at large, and was not bound to follow any prescribed form. The pleadings were, therefore, as might be expected, discursive, argumentative, and often exceedingly lengthy. As soon as they were closed, the Judge held a proceeding at which he settled the issues; that is to say, after hearing the pleadings on either side read to him, he considered and recorded the points to be established by either party. The parties then filed a list of their witnesses and documents, after which a day was appointed for the final hearing of the cause, when the parties or their Vakeels attended with their witnesses, who are examined and cross-examined *vivâ voce* in open court, in the presence and hearing and under the personal superintendence of the Judge, who, after hearing them, decided the case both upon the law and facts without the assistance of a Jury.

In March of last year, an Act was passed by the Indian Legislature, and came into operation on the 1st of July last, whose object was to simplify the Procedure of the Civil Courts in the Mofussil.

This Act directs that all suits shall be commenced by a plaint, after the filing of which a summons issues, calling upon the defendant to appear and answer the claim on a specified day in person, or by a pleader of the court duly instructed and able to answer all questions relating to the suit, or by a pleader accompanied by some other person able to answer all such questions. The summons also requires the defendant to produce all written documents, of which the plaintiff demands inspection, or upon which the defendant intends to rely in support of his defence.

The plaint must be verified by having a declaration at the foot, subscribed by the plaintiff and his pleader, if any, "that what is stated therein is true to the best of declarant's information and belief;" but if the plaintiff, by reason of absence or for other good cause, be unable to subscribe and verify the plaint, the court may allow the plaint to be subscribed and verified on behalf of the plaintiff by any person whom the court may consider competent to make the verification. With his plaint the plaintiff must produce, to be marked by the court, such written documents as he relies on as evidence in support of his claim; and no documents not so produced can be received at any subsequent stage of the cause without the special sanction of the court.

At the return day of the summons the parties may tender written statements of their respective cases; and no written statements can be filed at a subsequent stage unless it be called for by the court itself. These statements must be verified in

the same manner as the plaint, and are to be by way of simple narrative, not argumentative, and as brief as the nature of the case will permit, the court having the power of rejecting the statement, if it appear to be argumentative or unnecessarily prolix, or that it contains matter irrelevant to the suit. On the return day of the summons the court examines orally, upon oath, the parties or their respective representatives who may be sent to answer all material questions relative to the suit, and should such representative be unable to answer any material question, the further hearing of the cause may be postponed for the attendance of the principal. The exhibits produced by the parties are also examined by the court, which then frames and records the issues of law and fact on which the right decision of the case appears to depend. in order to enable it to do which it may require the attendance of further witnesses, and the production of documents not before it. When the issues have been settled, a time is fixed for the final hearing of the cause, which is done upon oral examination of the witnesses in open court, and the Judge arrives at his decision without the assistance of a Jury.

The above Act has not been in force for a sufficient time to enable us to judge whether or not its practical working will be to diminish the bulk of the enormous *nutthee*, or file of proceedings, which usually grows up during the course of a Mofussil suit, and to bring matters to a hearing more speedily than heretofore. To make it effective for such good purpose strenuous and steady must be the exertions of the Judges against the fraud and obstinacy of Indian litigants, whose utmost ingenuity will be called forth to render it a dead letter.

• With regard to law, the courts now under notice are to be guided in their decisions:—1st, by the Regulations of Government and Acts of the Indian Legislature, if there be any such applicable to the case; 2nd, by Hindoo or Mahomedan law, as the case may be, in all suits regarding succession, inheritance, marriage, caste, and all religious usages and institutions, and, 3rd, in cases for which no specific rule may exist, the Judges are to act according to “justice, equity, and good conscience.”

“In practice”—say the Commissioners in the appendix to their first Report—“the Mahomedan law has been applied to a variety of cases, which may be arranged under the following heads, *viz* inheritance, sale, pre-emption, gift, wills, marriage, dower, divorce, parentage, guardians and minority, slavery, endowments, debts and securities, claims and judicial matters. And in cases where the parties are Hindoos, family customs and the customs of particular parts of the country are in practice commonly recognised in modification of the general law. In matters of dealing between British subjects, the

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‘English Judges are in the practice of deciding as they best can according to English law, occasionally taking the opinion of the Advocate General in doubtful cases.’

There does not exist in India beyond the limits of the Presidency towns any *lex loci*, any substantive law for those classes of persons who have not, like the Hindoos and Mahomedans, special laws of their own, whose validity has been recognised by the British Government. In the absence of such, “justice, equity, and good conscience” offer themselves but as vague guides to the Mofussil Judges, to whom much blame is in consequence imputed without just cause for decisions which it is hard to reconcile one with another.

Turning from our view of the Civil Courts, we now proceed to take an equally rapid glance at the Courts of Criminal Jurisdiction subordinate to the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut: in doing which, we avail ourselves largely of the able summary to be found in the Appendix to the First Report of Her Majesty’s Commissioners appointed to consider the Reform of the Judicial Establishments, Judicial Procedure and Laws of India.

First of the Judge.—The Report informs us :—

The Session Judge is the head criminal authority in the zillah, and is the same person as the Civil Judge. In respect of his double functions, he is termed the Civil and Session Judge.

His jurisdiction is partly original and partly appellate. His original jurisdiction is restricted to persons committed by the Magistrate to take their trial at the Sessions. His appellate jurisdiction extends to all sentences and orders passed in judicial trials by the Magistrates or his subordinates, with some partial exceptions, as hereinafter more particularly mentioned.

The Magistrate is bound by law to commit for trial at the Sessions all persons (except as hereinafter mentioned,) charged with treason, murder, robbery, wilful fire raising, and counterfeiting the coin. He is also bound to commit for burglary, theft, the receiving or buying of stolen goods and property, and affrays under the aggravating circumstances which will be detailed hereafter, as constituting the exceptions which take these offences out of his own competence to punish. Forgery and perjury also belong to the exclusive jurisdiction of the Session Judge.

With regard to all other crimes and misdemeanors, the Magistrate has a discretion, and will commit them for trial by the Session Judge only when accompanied with such circumstances as render the punishment which he can inflict inadequate to the offence.

The appellate jurisdiction of the Session Judge extends to all convictions and original sentences by a Magistrate, or other officer exercising full magisterial powers in his zillah, and pronounced in a judicial trial; with the exception of the petty offences noticed on page 6, with respect to which, when punished by the Magistrate himself, instead of being referred to his subordinates, the order of the Magistrate is final.

The Judge holds his sessions for the zillah once a month.

The Sessions Judge was formerly on all trials assisted by the Mahomedan Law Officer attached to his Court; but he is

now empowered, at his option, to dispense with the presence of that Officer at any trial, and to avail himself of the assistance of respectable natives in either of the three following ways:—

First, by referring the suit or any point or points in the same to a punchayet of such persons, who must carry on their enquiries apart from the Court, and report the result in writing to the Court.

Or, secondly, by constituting two or more of such persons assessors or members of the Courts, with a view to the advantages derivable from their observations, particularly in the examination of witnesses. The opinion of each assessor is given separately and discussed, and may, at the instance of the Judge or either of the assessors, be recorded in writing in the suit.

Or, thirdly, by employing them more nearly as a Jury. They then attend during the trial, and may suggest, as it proceeds, such points of enquiry as occur to them.

When the accused is a person not professing the Mahomedan faith, he may require the Judge to proceed in one of the three methods above indicated.

The punchayet, assessors, or jury are, however, merely for the assistance of the Judge, in whose authority the decision of the case is exclusively vested.

When the Judge presides, assisted by the Mahomedan Law Officer, that officer is required, after the depositions have been taken, to record the *futwah* or decision of the Mahomedan law as applicable to the circumstances of the case, comprehending both the fact and the law; that is, whether the evidence be or be not sufficient, according to that law, to establish the guilt of the accused, and what degree of punishment the law assigns for the offence with which he is charged, supposing it to be proved. After the Judge has read the *futwah*, if it appears to him consonant to natural justice and also conformable to Mahomedan law, he is to pass sentence in terms of the *futwah*, except in cases where the sentence is one of death or of imprisonment for life. In all such cases the Judge transmits the sentence and proceedings to the Nizamut Court, and awaits its final sentence.

The Magistrate is the Criminal Judicial Officer next in rank to the Judge. There is usually one Magistrate in each zillah, but when the zillah is very large, a Joint-Magistrate is also appointed, who has a separate district assigned to him, and is independent of the Magistrate. His jurisdiction and powers of punishment are the same as those of the Magistrate.

The Magistrate and Joint-Magistrate are always members of the Covenanted Civil Service.

To the Magistrate or Joint-Magistrate several of the younger members of the Covenanted Civil Service are attached for the purpose of assisting him generally in the performance of his duties, and also of being themselves instructed in their duties. They are called Assistants to the Magistrate.

There are also in each zillah several Deputy Magistrates, who are not members of the Covenanted Service

The Police of the zillah is under the immediate authority of the Magistrate; and the Assistants and Deputy Magistrates also take a part in the Police duties of the zillah.

The greater part of the Joint-Magistrates, Assistants, and Deputy Magistrates act also as Collectors and Deputy Collectors; the Magistrates themselves with few exceptions have been for many years and until very recently confined to magisterial and Police duties.

The following shows the distribution of the magisterial force in the Lower Provinces of Bengal at the commencement of last year.

Of the Covenanted Service there were

		<i>Salary per month.</i>		
1	Magistrate, Collector and Salt Agent of the Northern Division of Cuttack	Rs	2,333	5 4
1	Ditto Ditto Southern Division	.. "	2,333	5 4
1	Ditto Ditto Central Division	.. "	2,333	5 4
1	Magistrate of the 24-Pergunnahs, and Superintendent of the Alipore Jail	.. "	2,333	5 4
1	Magistrate and Collector of Shahabad	.. "	2,000	0 0
2	Ditto Ditto at Beerbhoom and Bhaugulpore,	each	1,500	0 0
28	Magistrates	" "	900	0 0
4	Joint-Magistrates and Deputy Collectors	" "	1,500	0 0
4	Joint-Magistrates and Deputy Collectors	" "	1,000	0 0
11	Joint-Magistrates and Deputy Collectors	" "	700	0 0
15	Assistants to Magistrates and Collectors vested with the powers of Joint-Magistrates and Deputy Collectors	" "	500	0 0
34	Assistants to Magistrates and Collectors	" "	400	0 0

The Magistrates and Joint-Magistrates also receive, in addition to their salaries, a travelling allowance of five rupees a day when employed in the interior of their respective districts.

Of the Uncovenanted Service there were at the same time

- 5 Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors of the first class, at 700 rupees each; of whom four were Christians and one Mahomedan.

- 8 Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors of the second class, at 600 rupees each ; of whom five were Christians and three Hindoos.
- 14 Ditto ditto of the third class, at 500 rupees each ; of whom six were Christians, one a Mahomedan, and seven Hindoos.
- 5 Ditto ditto of the fourth class, at 450 rupees each ; of whom three were Christians, one a Mahomedan, and one a Hindoo.
- 15 Ditto ditto of the fourth class, at 400 rupees each ; of whom twelve were Christians, two Hindoos, and one a Mahomedan.
- 2 Ditto ditto of the fifth class, at 450 rupees each ; one being a Christian, and one a Mahomedan.
- 1 Ditto ditto of the fifth class, at 400 rupees, a Christian.
- 3 Ditto ditto of the fifth class, at 350 Rupees each ; of whom two were Mahomedans, and one a Hindoo
- 21 Ditto ditto of the fifth class, at 300 rupees each ; of whom eleven were Christians, three Mahomedans, and seven Hindoos
- 1 Ditto ditto of the sixth class, at 450 rupees, a Hindoo.
- 1 Ditto ditto of the sixth class, at 400 rupees, a Hindoo.
- 2 Ditto ditto of the sixth class, at 350 rupees, both Christians.
- 2 Ditto ditto of the sixth class, at 250 rupees ; one a Hindoo, and the other a Mahomedan.
- 21 Ditto ditto of the sixth class, at 200 rupees each , of whom six were Christians, seven Mahomedans, and eight Hindoos
- 46 Supernumeraries, at 200 rupees each ; of whom nineteen were Christians, six Mahomedans, and twenty-one Hindoos.

The Bengal Government is now trying the experiment of uniting the offices of Magistrate and Collector in the same person. This is, in fact, to revert to the system which prevailed previous to 1837, and had been gradually abandoned in all the districts of Bengal, with the exception of seven or eight. As no one acquainted with the Mofussil holds any other opinion than that the duties proper to the Magistrate of a zillah are more than any one man can efficiently perform, we do not imagine that the recent change can be of any long duration, and shall proceed with our description of the state of things which preceded its institution.

Of the judicial powers of the Magistrate and his subordinates, the Report already alluded to gives the following summary :—

Judicial Powers of the Magistrate.

The Magistrate has criminal jurisdiction over burglary, theft, the receiving or buying stolen goods and ~~property, and all offences committed in~~

exceptions; and also over convicts or prisoners who may effect their escape from a gaol or other place of confinement, or from the custody of their guards. The exceptions in the case of burglary are, where the offence has been accompanied with murder, or with an attempt to commit murder, or with wounding, burning, corporal injury, or other aggravating act of personal violence; or where the person charged has before been convicted of burglary, robbery, or other heinous crime, or is of notoriously bad character, or is charged with committing the offence while employed in the office of a watchman, guard, or police officer, or if the value of the property stolen exceeds the sum of 100 rupees; or whenever the Magistrate may be of opinion that there exist any circumstances of aggravation (though not of the nature above specified), such as to render the prisoner deserving of a more severe punishment than the Magistrates are competent to inflict. The exceptions in the case of theft are, where the offence has been accompanied with any of the aggravating circumstances above specified; or where the amount or value stolen exceeds the sum of 300 rupees. The exceptions in the case of receiving or buying of stolen goods are, where the person is charged with knowing, at the time of his purchasing or receiving the same, that such property had been obtained in the perpetration of robbery by open violence, or of theft, accompanied by any of the aggravating circumstances above mentioned; or where the amount or value of the property stolen exceeds 300 rupees. The exceptions in the case of affrays are where they are attended with homicide, severe wounding, or other aggravating circumstances.

In the excepted cases, it is the duty of the Magistrate to commit the person charged with any of the offences above mentioned for trial at the Sessions. But where the exceptions do not occur, the Magistrate is authorised to try them himself, and to punish them, if convicted, with any amount of punishment which he may deem adequate to the offence, not exceeding imprisonment for two years with hard labor, together with a further term of imprisonment for one year in lieu of corporal punishment, which has been abolished. In the case of affrays, his power of punishment is limited to one year's imprisonment, with or without hard labor and irons, and a fine of 200 rupees, commutable to imprisonment for another term not exceeding one year. He is also required to commute the labor to a fine not exceeding the same amount, but otherwise to be regulated with reference to the nature of the offence and the circumstances in life of the offender.

In cases of theft cognisable by the Magistrate, if the value of the stolen property exceed fifty Rupees, or if the person committing it shall have been before convicted of theft, burglary, robbery, or other heinous offence, or if the prisoner have committed the offence while employed as a watchman, guard, or police officer, or be a servant of the person from whom, or in the house from which the property may have been stolen, and also in all cases of cattle-stealing, the Magistrate ought to try the prisoners himself.

Cases which the Magistrate may refer to his Subordinate.

All cases of theft, other than those above specified, the Magistrate is authorised to refer for decision to his Assistant, or investigate them himself, as he may think proper.

The Magistrate is also competent to refer for trial to the Mahomedan Law Officer attached to the court of the Sessions Judge, or to the Principal Sudder Ameen, or to the Sudder Ameen, or Deputy Magistrate, all complaints or charges brought before him for petty offences, such as

abusive language, calumny, inconsiderable assaults, or affrays, and all charges of petty thefts, when unattended with aggravating circumstances.

Whenever a complaint of criminal nature is referred, as above mentioned, by a Magistrate, the order of reference should be recorded on his proceeding, with instructions, whether to submit the proceedings held upon the examination for the Magistrate's decision, or whether the decision on the charge is to be passed by the Assistant, or person to whom the reference is to be made, if it be such as he is authorised to determine under the Regulations.

Judicial Powers of the Assistant to the Magistrate.

The Assistant to the Magistrate has criminal jurisdiction in all cases that may be referred to him for trial by the Magistrate, and is authorised to exercise the judicial powers vested in the Magistrate by the Regulations, so far as may be necessary to enable him to perform the duties committed to him.

His power of punishment is limited to imprisonment for one month, with an additional period of one month's imprisonment in lieu of corporal punishment.

Whenever the Assistant to a Magistrate is reported by the Nizamut Adawlut to be qualified by his experience, industry, and abilities, to be entrusted with special powers, he may be specially authorised by the Governor-General in Council, in all cases referred to him in which an individual may be convicted of any criminal offence punishable under the Mahomedan Law and the Regulations, for which the penalties above quoted may be insufficient, to pass sentence of imprisonment not exceeding six months, together with an additional period of one month in lieu of corporal punishment.

Judicial Powers of the Deputy Magistrate, Mahomedan Law Officer, Principal Sudder Ameen, and Sudder Ameen

These Officers have the like jurisdiction and powers as the Assistant Magistrate in cases that may be referred to them by the Magistrate. The Deputy Magistrate may also be specially empowered in the same way as the Assistant Magistrate; and when so specially empowered, his jurisdiction and powers of punishment are the same. He may be further invested with full magisterial powers by an order of the Governor-General in Council; and when so empowered he has the full judicial powers of Magistrate, and may punish to the same extent, viz two years' imprisonment, with hard labor, and an additional term of imprisonment for one year in lieu of corporal punishment.

The compiler of the above summary has, however, omitted to notice one very important function of the Magistrate and his subordinates. This consists in investigating cases of dispute concerning the possession of land, when such are likely to lead to a breach of the peace, and in passing a decision, upholding in possession that person whom the Magistrate may find to have been in actual possession at the time when the dispute arose, leaving the parties disputant to litigate their rights to the land in a regular suit in the civil court. The above jurisdiction of the Magistrate is exercised under Act No. IV. of those passed by

the Indian Legislature in the year 1840. Such is the tendency of Indian landholders to have recourse to the *latthee*, rather than the brief in the first instance, for determining questions of title, that hardly a suit is instituted in the civil courts relating to the possession of lands which has not had its prelude in an "Act IV of '40 case" The above jurisdiction is therefore the means of giving the Magistrate and his subordinates a pretty good training in the conduct of judicial investigations of a civil rather than a criminal nature. An appeal lies from the Magistrate to the Judge in the cases just noticed, as in all other cases of judicial trial before the Magistrate.

From every sentence or interlocutory order in criminal trials for petty offences or thefts, where the punishment is not more than imprisonment for one month, or a fine not exceeding 50 or 200 rupees, there is an appeal to the Magistrate

From every sentence or interlocutory order in criminal trials, where the punishments are greater than those above specified, there is an appeal to the Sessions Judge.

From every sentence or order passed in a criminal trial by a Sessions Judge there is an appeal to the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut

The Appellate Court calls for and revises the whole record of the case but has no power to enhance punishment or to punish any person acquitted by the court below

The decision of the Magistrate or Judge sitting as an appellate authority, should regularly be final, but practically an appeal therefrom to the Sudder Nizamut Court is gained by resort being had, at the instance of the accused, to the power conferred on the Nizamut Court by the Legislature, "at all times 'to call for the records of any criminal trials of any subordinate court, and to pass upon them such orders as may seem fit'"

The law which the courts exercising criminal jurisdiction administer is that which prevailed in India under the Mahomedan rulers of the country as modified by the Regulations of the British Government and the acts of the Legislative Council. The Mahomedan law as to a large class of offences permits to the discretion of the Judge the nature and classification of the act impugned as well as the measure of punishment proportionate thereto, and the Legislature under British rule has restrained the exercise of this discretion, no further than by imposing limits to the severity of the punishment which the Judge may impose. Much of the obloquy which has been heaped upon "Company's Judges" may be attributed to this defective state of the law which ought to guide them in their decisions.

The criminal courts differ from the civil courts in one very essential particular as respects the extent of their jurisdiction.

From the jurisdiction of the civil courts no person whatever is exempted by reason of birth or descent. British-born subjects were originally exempt from this jurisdiction but in 1813, on the occasion of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in that year, British subjects residing, trading, or holding immovable property in the provinces were made amenable to the Company's Courts in civil suits brought against them by the natives, with, however, a right of appeal to Her Majesty's Supreme Court at Calcutta, in cases where an appeal otherwise lay to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut. At this time the jurisdiction of Native Judges was restricted to suits in which the value did not exceed 100 rupees. In 1814, Moonsiffs and Sudder Ameens were appointed, the former to try cases not exceeding 64 rupees, and the latter cases not exceeding 150 rupees, but neither Moonsiffs nor Sudder Ameens were empowered to take cognisance of any suits in which a British European subject, or an European foreigner, or an American, was a party. In 1821, the limit of the Moonsiff's jurisdiction was extended to 150 rupees. In 1827, the jurisdiction of the Sudder Ameen was extended to 1,000 rupees. In 1831, that of the Moonsiff was extended to 300 rupees, and, at the same time Principal Sudder Ameens were appointed, with power to take cognisance of suits referred to them by the Zillah Judges of the value not exceeding 5,000 rupees, but the Principal Sudder Ameen was forbidden to take cognisance of any suit in which an European British subject, or an European foreigner, or an American should be a party. Such continued to be the state of things up to the end of the East India Company's exclusive reign in India. The Imperial Parliament had not ventured to subject European British subjects to the jurisdiction of Judges of another creed and color save in petty civil suits up to the value of 100 rupees and the much-abused Merchant Sovereigns who ruled the people and monopolised the commerce of India adhered to the same policy. In 1833 was passed the Act "for effecting an arrangement with the 'East India Company, and for the better government of His Majesty's Indian Territories," by which the Company's exclusive trade privileges were abolished, and a system of double Government established, and which, rather than the recent Act by which the Government of India was avowedly transferred to Her Majesty, may be entitled the death warrant of the Kumpanee Bahadoor. From that time the policy of the Indian Government, as respects Europeans resident in India, was, whether wisely or unwisely, totally changed, and the Anglo-Saxon then began to learn the lesson, not yet thoroughly read, that he must take his place in the same rank with Hindoo or Mussulman as a

subject of Her Majesty. In 1836, an Act was passed by the Legislative Council of India, by which the right of appeal theretofore enjoyed by the British subjects from the Company's Courts to Her Majesty's Supreme Court was taken away, and it was enacted, that no person, by reason of birth or descent, should be exempt from the jurisdiction of the Company's Courts above that of the Moonsiff in any civil proceeding whatever, and in 1843, the exception as regards the Moonsiff's Courts was also abolished. Vehement were the struggles of indignant Britons against what they regarded as alike degrading their dignity and rendering their property precarious; loud and furious were the declamations in the Town Hall; but liberty and equality was the maxim inculcated by a Government itself absolutely despotic, and the so-called "Black Act" passed. The limit of 5,000 rupees, which at that time defined the extent of the Principal Sudder Ameen's jurisdiction, was soon afterwards removed, and at the present day the European resident in the Mofussil must be content to submit a case, involving perhaps his entire fortune, to the decision of a Hindoo or Mahomedan, who has never heard of Westminster Hall, and whose salary is perhaps not more than that which the suitor gives to his head clerk or assistant.

As respects criminal matters, the process of putting the British-born subjects of Her Majesty on the same footing with the native of India has not made such rapid progress.

In 1813, the same Act of the Imperial Parliament which subjected the European British subject to the Company's civil courts, reserving to him his right of appeal to the Courts established by Royal Charter, made him, if resident in the Mofussil, liable, under the sentence of the District and Zillah Magistrates, for assaults and trespasses against the natives of India, to a fine not exceeding 500 rupees, or two months' imprisonment in case of non-payment of the fine; but the convictions of such Magistrates were removable by *certiorari* to the Supreme Court established by Royal Charter. In 1843, by an Act of the Legislative Council of India, the right of removal by *certiorari* was taken away, and it was enacted that an appeal from the sentence of the Magistrate in the cases just mentioned should lie to the same courts, and according to the same rules as were provided in the case of sentences passed by Magistrates in the exercise of their ordinary jurisdiction. The passing of this Act was vehemently opposed by the European residents in the Bengal provinces, but with no better success than attended the agitation against the civil Black Acts. By an Act of 1853, assaults and trespasses by a British-born subject against any person whatever were made punishable in the same way as those against natives of India. By an Act of 1848,

Magistrates and Joint-Magistrates were empowered to take moo-chulkas, or penal recognisances for good behaviour and keeping the peace, from British subjects, as well as other persons. Also by certain Acts, such as that for the "suppression of lotteries," and that "concerning the binding of apprentices," British-born subjects are either not exempted from, or are made specially subject to, the jurisdiction of the local courts in respect of offences under such Acts: but these are Acts of rare operation. With the exceptions above noticed, British-born subjects of Her Majesty resident in the Bengal Presidency are exempted from the criminal jurisdiction of the Zillah Courts, and are amenable in respect of crimes only to Her Majesty's Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta.

Our notice of the judicial system of the Bengal Provinces would be incomplete without some account of the Revenue Courts.

The Sudder Board of Revenue presides over the establishment, consisting of Commissioners, Collectors, and their Deputies, by whose means are realised those portions of the public income which arise from the land revenue or tax, (hardly properly so described, as it more resembles a rent payable to Government as superior landlords,) the customs, and the salt and opium monopolies.

The first and most important of these taxes is a charge upon the land itself. Government looks to each estate as the ultimate security for the revenue charged upon it, and by sale of which that revenue must ultimately be realised, in the event of default being made by the zemindar who holds the estate. This zemindar occupies a portion half analogous to that of proprietor of the estate, half to that of a publican or farmer of the tax payable by the ryots or cultivators of the land within his estate or zemindary. It will be understood from this state of relations that the Government has an intimate interest in preserving the landmarks of each zemindary. It must watch, lest by portions of an estate being transferred to other zemindaries, the security of Government upon the dismembered estate should be diminished, and purchasers in case of a sale for default embarrassed. It must superintend partitions, when made among shareholders of the zemindary, and sales of portions to other zemindars, in order that care may be taken that its due share of the revenue be made chargeable upon each of the portions assigned in severalty. It must examine into the tenures of those who claim interest in each estate, in order to ascertain with whom the adjustment of the dues to Government can most justly and most safely be made. Moreover, as the English rulers of India have thought fit to recognise the validity of *bond fide* grants of estates exempt from

the payment of revenue made during the reigns of Native Sovereigns, they have imposed upon themselves the necessity of constant vigilance, lest exemption should be fraudulently claimed under color of ancient rent-free or *lakhiraj* tenure. Occasion for investigation and interference is also constantly occurring from the inroads of those inveterate removers of land-marks, the Ganges and her tributaries, who make nothing of the bodily conveyance of a few thousand acres from one township to another in the course of a single rainy season. Lastly, as prompt payments of the revenue is exacted from the zemindar, it becomes incumbent on Government to provide him with somewhat stringent methods of bringing defaulting ryots to book, and at the same time to overlook the operation of the squeezing process, lest the ryot should be pressed to death, instead of being made to yield his just quota of revenue.

A proper care for its own interests, and a sense of its duties as landlord, has thus obliged Government to invest its tax-gatherers with considerable powers for the conduct of summary judicial investigations. Without pretending to examine minutely into the extent and practice of this jurisdiction, we may mention, as instances of its exercise, that the Collector, when making or revising settlements of land revenue, is empowered to investigate and declare the nature and extent of interests possessed by persons occupying the soil, to hear, try, and determine all claims to property in and possession of the land, or the rent or produce thereof, and to give possession to the party who may appear to have the best title. From his decision an appeal lies to the Commissioner, and again to the Sudder Board of Revenue, and the party who may think himself aggrieved by the final decision of the revenue authorities can seek redress by a regular suit in the ordinary courts to try the right. The Collector is also authorised to conclude settlements between *lakhirajdars* and those holding tenures subordinate to them, subject to the like right of appeal, and of contesting the matter in a regular suit in the ordinary courts. He also receives and tries by summary process all suits for rent by zemindars against their ryots or under-tenants, as well as complaints preferred by the ryots and under-tenants on account of excessive demands or undue exactions of rent, whether by distraint or otherwise, as well as all suits relative to the adjustment of accounts between landholders and farmers of land, or under-tenants of any description, with their sureties, and agents, and to all other matters immediately connected with the demand, receipt, or payment of rents, the delivery of *pottahs* and the engagements between landholders and their under-tenants. In all such suits an appeal lies from the decision of the Collector to the Commissioner and to the

Sudder Board, whose final decision also may be contested by regular suit in the ordinary courts

In the above suits the written pleadings are a plaint and answer: witnesses are examined on oath, and pleaders are heard on either side, as in regular suits in the ordinary courts

Again, all suits preferred in the regular courts for the revenue of lands which the possessor claims to hold as *lakhiraj* or free from assessment, as well all suits so preferred by persons claiming to hold the lands as *lakhiraj*, must, immediately upon their institution, be referred to the Collector for investigation and report. Such investigation is conducted like a regular suit, and the evidence adduced is often most lengthy and intricate.

As above-mentioned, all partitions of estates—which, owing to the Hindoo law, under whose provisions lands do not descend to the eldest son, but to all the sons of a deceased proprietor in equal shares, are very numerous—are affected under the superintendence of the Collector

The first proceeding in such cases is to send an Amecn or Surveyor, who, after receiving upon oath from the proprietors and their agents accounts of the produce of each village, and other information requisite to enable him to assess the portion of the public revenue to be borne by each of the separate estates into which the joint property is to be divided, reports to the Collector the partition which he recommends to be made, with a detail of the adjustment which he proposes respecting tanks, places of worship, &c, which it may be desirable should still remain as joint property. The Collector, after receiving objections, and hearing the parties or their Vakeels, draws up a paper of partition, and from his proceeding an appeal lies to the Board of Revenue, whose decision is final. In practice each partition presents the appearance of a hotly contested litigation, often extending over several years.

The system of Judicial Establishments, of which we have attempted a description in the foregoing pages, has been arrived at by successive modifications of that which Lord Cornwallis may be said almost to have created out of the chaotic elements which existed previous to the year 1793. It is no experiment of yesterday's birth, to be lightly re-placed to-day by a new invention. Neither is it a simple and, as it were, accidental system, to be rashly dealt with by any innovator anxious to bring general principles to bear upon its frame, but one of a highly artificial and complex construction, whose mechanism cannot be understood without careful study, nor safely handled except by one possessing both skill in the craft of jurisprudence and patience to examine before he pulls to pieces

We are not ambitious of promulgating in the present article our own scheme of reform; but we think we may with advantage, before quitting the subject, notice a few of the evils which are made the matter of most general complaint under the existing state of Indian Judicature.

First, then, as affecting the administration of justice alike in the Civil and Criminal Courts, we may point to the frightful amount of perjury, and of forgery supported by perjury, which present themselves to be dealt with by the Indian Judge. Not only is there a general want of truthfulness in native evidence, which renders untrustworthy nine out of ten of the Hindoo and Mahomedan witnesses, who are naturally and fairly connected with cases under investigation, being really cognisant to some degree of the transactions of which they give their version in the witness-box; but the courts are infested by a swarm of professional witnesses, who gain their daily bread by perjury—wretches of the true type of those “sons of Behal” who were supplied to the order of Jezebel by the nobles of Jezreel. These men travel from zillah to zillah, leaving one court, as the breath of their lying begins to stink in the nostrils of the Judge, to seek another where the accents of their shameless voice are less familiar. Sometimes they are retained in the regular service of wealthy suborners, who, having estates in several zillahs, can, by moving them from one jurisdiction to another, keep their perjury fresh for use; and these are the most dangerous of their class, because, from their general acquaintance with their master’s affairs, they are enabled to advert to actual occurrences, which give a semblance of substance to their fictions. Others prostitute themselves to every comer, and sell their wares so cheap that it is often found convenient to have a separate set of witnesses to each distinct fact in the cause, in order that the danger of being broken down in cross-examination may be avoided by each deponent swearing to but one fact, and sticking to what he swears.

Forgery is as much an item of commerce as perjury, and is offered in the like abundance and upon equally moderate terms. During a recent trial some insight was obtained into the working of a forgery business, which had been carried on by a firm, the interest of each partner having been transmitted from father to son through three or four generations. Stamped paper of each successive year kept blank ready for use, specimens of the handwriting and signatures of all who had held local office, and of the principal suitors and vakeels engaged in litigation during the period since the establishment of the business, and facsimiles of the seals of all the local courts formed part of the stock-in-trade of the firm. The skill in their art acquired by

these hereditary practitioners of fraud is something marvellous. Forgeries so cunning as to deceive the very person whose hand-writing is the subject of imitation, are thrown off with a rapidity which might almost shame the printing press. A master of the craft disdains the servile labor of a mere copyist, and from a short inspection of a letter, he is able to catch the style of the writer; after doing which, he is prepared to produce to order a correspondence of any length in the required hand-writing at so much per folio. The existence of these illegitimate law-stationers is so well known, that no more faith is accorded in the Zillah Courts to documentary evidence than to mere *vivâ voce* testimony. A case recently fell under our observation, in which a prisoner was acquitted by the highest Court of Appeal, although, to find him innocent, involved the necessity of pronouncing a heap of letters, upwards of one hundred in number, and purporting to be in the hand-writing of eight or ten different and well-known individuals, to be forgeries.

It is to the filth of perjury and forgery with which the witness box of an Indian Court teems that we must ascribe the growth of that feeling of reluctance to give evidence on judicial investigation, which almost amounts to a religious prejudice on the part of the respectable natives of India.

Manifestly no mere reform in Judicial Procedure can reach the root of the evil we have just noticed.

The new Procedure Act of 1859 attempts a remedy by making provision, as above noticed, for the verification of the pleadings, and by attaching to the offence of verifying any averment which the person making the verification shall know or believe to be false, or shall not know or believe to be true, the same punishment to which the law subjects one guilty of giving or fabricating false evidence. We fear, however, that the means of evading the operation of this most salutary enactment will be found in the clause which provides, that, "if the plaintiff, by reason of absence, or for other good cause, be unable to subscribe and verify the plaint, the court may allow the plaint to be subscribed and verified on behalf of the plaintiff by any person whom the court may consider competent to make the verification." Unless the Judges be very firm, verification by agent will become the rule with suitors, and even if the courts be rigid in exacting the personal verification of the plaintiff, the system of holding property *benamée* will too often enable the real suitor to cheat the law by putting forward a man of straw as the ostensible plaintiff on record.

Something, we think, might be done towards holding falsehood responsible by enrolling a body of regular practitioners as Attorneys in the Mofussil Courts. The Advocate practising in

these Courts, under the name of Vakeels, are already admitted under Regulation, and have, together with the Barristers and Attorneys of the Supreme Court, the exclusive privilege of pleading. They are required, previous to admission, to pass an examination. This has hitherto been principally confined to testing the candidate's proficiency in the rules of practice of the Courts, and the law established by the Regulations and Acts of the Indian Legislature, but will, in all probability, soon be extended so as to embrace the general principles of Jurisprudence and Law as recognised by the English Courts. These are now taught by an able Professor, an English Barrister, attached to the Presidency College, whose certificate of competency has hitherto been of the same effect as that of the regular public examiners, as entitling the possessor to apply for admission to practise as an Advocate in the Mofussil, but will shortly be replaced by a diploma to be granted by the University of Calcutta. The result of the above provisions has been, that the Mofussil Bar has of late years advanced greatly in character and ability. Its position has also been much improved as regards independence; and the boldness of the Advocate may now be found where before the flattery of the sycophant cringing to the presiding "Incarnation of Justice" was only known. Below the Bar, however, no licensed practitioner is attached to the Mofussil Court. The only person known to the court as conducting the cause previous to the hearing is the Mooktear, or Agent, whom the sutor may appoint and remove at his own pleasure. He, it is, who files the pleadings, presents the interlocutory petitions, retains the Vakeels, and, above all, *prepares* the evidence. He is the uncontrolled and practically speaking irresponsible *dominus litis*. As a rule, he is an unmitigated scoundrel. To hire witnesses for his own side, to buy off those of the other, to go into the market for false oaths and forged documents, to cheat the Vakeel of his fees, to keep his master constantly at law, and, if the bid be high enough, to sell him to his adversary, is the calling of this prince of rogues. The Judge who cannot correct, is content to distrust; the practitioner to whom character is worthless, is satisfied to be without it. We cannot but feel that something could and ought to be done to amend this state of things; and we see no reason why means which are found effectual to secure the respectability of the general body of persons practising below the Bar in the Courts of England should wholly fail of a like success in those of India.

The evil to which we have just adverted is one with which the judicial reformer can only partially grapple, inasmuch as its root lies more in the moral depravity of the suitors or their agents

than in a defective system of Judicature. We shall now, however, proceed to notice what we consider a radical error in the constitution of the courts themselves. We allude to the too great facility for appeals and reviews of judgment which exists under the present Code of procedure of the civil courts.

The ordinary history of a case in which the title to land is in dispute will be found to be as follows. —

First, one of the claimants institutes what we have before mentioned as an "Act IV of '40 case" in the Magistrate's Court; that is to say, he prefers a complaint that he has been forcibly turned out of possession of the land in question; whereupon it becomes the duty of the Magistrate, under the provisions of Act IV of 1840, to ascertain who was in possession when the dispute first arose, and to restore or maintain the original possession. The proceeding, though held in the Magistrate's Court, has been pronounced to be of a civil nature. At the outset the Magistrate probably directs one of his native subordinates to make a local investigation into the matter of complaint. This functionary, after examining a crowd of witnesses on either side, makes a preliminary report, after which the case is heard and evidence taken before the Magisterial officer who has to dispose of it. There are no formal pleadings, but petitions and counter-petitions, and replies to the Magistrate's perwannahs, calling for explanations from the litigant parties, supply their place, and the investigation assumes the dimensions and appearance of a regular and vigorously contested suit. From the Magistrate's decision an appeal lies both upon fact and law to the Sessions Judge, to whom the whole evidence is opened by the pleaders on either side, and who may remand the case for further enquiry upon particular points, or may, by his judgment, at once finally close this part of the case. After a litigation, often prolonged during several months, one of the rival claimants is now established in the enjoyment of the bone of contention, pending the decision of the regular suit, which the unsuccessful party forthwith commences in the Court of the Principal Sudder Ameen to try the title to the land. The whole case is now gone into afresh, as if no investigation had been held by the Magistrate. Pleadings are filed, and the Principal Sudder Ameen, after hearing the evidence, declares the rights of the parties. An appeal lies from the Ameen's decision, if the value of the land be upwards of 5,000 rupees, to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut direct; if of less amount, to the Civil Judge of the zillah. This is an appeal both upon fact and law, and the whole of the evidence taken is read and discussed. It may be that the decision of the lower court has proceeded upon some

plea of law in bar ; say, for instance, that the claim set up is barred by the statute of limitation. The higher court may hold that the plea is not, under the circumstance of the case, applicable, and may remand the case for further investigation into the facts constituting the title of either party. In such case there is a fresh hearing on evidence before the court below, followed by a renewed regular appeal to the higher court. When that court has given its decision, an application is made to have the case admitted to review. Upon this application the evidence may be re-opened to the court. Should the application be granted, which, however, is not often done, the whole debate upon the appeal is renewed, and all the facts of the case again pass in review before the court. Should the appeal have been in the first instance, from the Ameen to the Zillah Judge, a further special appeal, upon matters of law, will lie from his decision to the Sudder Court. This appeal is not a matter of right, but involves a preliminary application to a Judge of the Sudder Court ; who, after hearing counsel for either party, grants or refuses his certificate that the case is fit to be heard in appeal upon certain specified points. If the certificate be granted, the appeal is heard. The hearing is followed by an application for admission to review, and if that be successful by the hearing in review. When the case has finally gone through its course in the Indian Courts, it may, if the amount in dispute be 10,000 rupees or upwards, take ship and re-appear in England on appeal to Her Majesty in Council.

Lest the reader should suppose that we have been describing a course of litigation rather possible to occur than such as is of actual occurrence in the Mofussil Courts, we give below the history of a case, in which the writer of the present article was professionally concerned within the last year.

In 1820, a Hindoo zemindar died, leaving two sons, Doorgapersad Roy Chowdhree and Tarapersad Roy Chowdhree, entitled as such, in the absence of a will, to the property of their deceased father in equal shares.

Litigation very shortly afterwards arose between the brothers, in consequence of Doorgapersad setting up a will of his deceased father, the authenticity of which was denied by Tarapersad ; but before the suit had proceeded further than the appeal to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and while that appeal was pending, a compromise was entered into between the two brothers ; the younger, Tarapersad, consenting to take as his share of the paternal estate six-sixteenths, leaving to his brother ten-sixteenths.

So far, however, was this compromise from being a termination of the disputes between the two brothers, that it became

the source of litigation, ramifying into several branches, one of which only, connected with one particular item of the paternal property, we shall trace in its progress.

Doorgapersad, in an action commenced by him as alleged executor of his father against one Nundee, obtained a decree in the lower court for 23,000 rupees, with interest, and upon an appeal being preferred to the Sudder Court, compromised the claim with the debtor for 24,000 rupees, payable in three years, without interest.

In 1835, Tarapersad sued Doorgapersad and the debtor Nundee in the Zillah Court, claiming his six-sixteenths of the amount of the original decree against Nundee with interest.

The Zillah Judge, in 1836, made a decree in favor of Tarapersad's claim, with the exception of a portion of the interest claimed, which he disallowed.

The Sudder Court, in 1840, *on appeal*, affirmed this decree: but afterwards *on review*, in 1841, reversed it, allowing Tarapersad's claim to six-sixteenths of the original amount decreed against Nundee, with interest from the date of that decree to the time of Tarapersad's instituting his suit.

The Privy Council *on appeal* reversed the decision of the Sudder Court, and declared that Doorgapersad was liable to Tarapersad for six-sixteenths, not of the whole amount decreed against Nundee, but of such portion only thereof as Doorgapersad had recovered or might thereafter recover, and referred the case back to the Sudder Court to ascertain and carry out the rights and liabilities of the parties as so declared.

The decree of the Privy Council was sent down to the Zillah Court to be executed. That Court—finding that Doorgapersad had taken out execution of his decree against Nundee, and had seized and brought to sale an estate belonging to Nundee, called Mujhoonamoota, and had himself become purchaser, paying the purchase-money by a receipt acknowledging satisfaction to that amount of his decree against Nundee—decided that Tarapersad was entitled to six-sixteenths of the estate so purchased out of the money which Nundee had been decreed to pay.

Against this order Doorgapersad appealed to the Sudder Court in 1856, which reversed it, declaring Tarapersad to be entitled only to six-sixteenths of the amount which Mujhoonamoota had fetched at the sale in execution, and not of the estate itself.

The case was re-argued on an application for a review of judgment; but the Sudder Court upheld the former decision, giving, however, an option to Tarapersad of accepting the money to which he was declared entitled, or of instituting a regular suit for the share which he claimed in Mujhoonamoota.

Tarapersad brought his suit in the Zillah Court for the share of Mujhoonamoota. This was dismissed at the hearing. He then appealed to the Sudder Court: this appeal was heard in 1856, and dismissed: an application for review of judgment was made in 1857, but rejected.

We have thus the original hearing of the lower court; a hearing before the Sudder Court in appeal; a hearing before the Sudder Court on application for review, and again upon review when granted; a hearing before the Privy Council in appeal; a hearing before the Zillah Court on the remand for execution; a hearing before the Sudder Court on appeal from the lower court's order; a hearing on application for review before the Sudder Court; a hearing before the Zillah Court on the suit instituted by Tarapersad, under the option given him by the Sudder Court; a hearing before the Sudder Court of the last-mentioned suit on appeal, and a hearing on the final application for review—In all eleven hearings, extending over a period of time from 1836 to 1856.

But we have not yet done with the litigation which arose out of the claim against Nundee.

Doorgapersad's original decree against Nundee did not include the interest which had accrued against the debtor during the time that the suit had been pending (a period of upwards of eight years) in the court which made the decree.

Tarapersad, after the result in his favor of the review in the Sudder Court in 1841, instituted a fresh suit in the Zillah Court against Doorgapersad, for the recovery of the interest accrued, as above noticed, during the pendency of the suit.

The suit was heard before the Principal Sudder Ameen in 1842, and dismissed on a plea of the statute of limitations.

The Zillah Judge, on appeal, in 1843, reversed the decision of the Principal Sudder Ameen; and passed a decree in favor of Tarapersad for the amount claimed.

The Sudder Court, on application made in 1845, admitted the case to special appeal.

In 1847, the special appeal was heard before the Sudder, and dismissed.

In 1848, an application was made to the Sudder Court for review of the judgment, dismissing the special appeal, but was disallowed.

At this juncture news of the decree of the Privy Council in the suit for the principal money arrived in this country. Of course, with Tarapersad's right as against Doorgapersad personally for the principal had fallen also his right to the interest: but for the latter there stood the decree in his favor, against which there had been no appeal to the Privy

Council, the amount in dispute being below the appealable amount.

Doorgapersad, in 1852, applied to have a second review under the peculiar circumstances of the case admitted by that court, and his application was allowed.

In 1853, the review was heard, and the former decree upheld ; but on the ground, merely that the grounds upon which the special appeal had been originally admitted did not go to the merits of the claim, and that the court had no power on review to travel out of those grounds.

Doorgapersad, upon this, in 1854, tried an application to the Zillah Court which had originally decided the case on the merits, to have its judgment reviewed, but his application was unsuccessful.

Still undaunted he had recourse to a fresh suit, instituted *de novo* in 1857 in the Court of the Principal Sudder Ameen, to recover the money which he had been made to pay to Tarapersad upon a claim which the Privy Council's decree showed to be untenable.

The Principal Sudder Ameen dismissed the suit, on the ground that the decision of the Privy Council had given no cause of action, and that the claim was consequently barred by the statute of limitations.

Doorgapersad appealed to the Sudder Court, which, in 1859, decided the case against him ; but expressed an opinion, that there was no legal bar to his reiterating his application to the Zillah Court for a review of its judgment in the former suit for interest.

Encouraged by this expression of opinion, Doorgapersad applied to the Zillah Court to have the case admitted to review : but received, what we may probably consider, his final *quietus* by that Court's rejection of his application.

Adding then these eleven hearings of the suit for interest to the same number of the suit for principal, we find the same parties twenty-two times before the Court upon one and the same subject-matter of claim.

The above case illustrates well both the pertinacity of the Hindoo in litigation, and the encouragement which he receives therein by the present law and practice concerning appeals and reviews of judgment. The fact of such frequent opportunity for appeal being given, implies an admission of want of confidence in the Zillah Courts by the Legislature which established them ; and this leads us naturally to the discussion of another defect universally allowed to belong to the present system of Indian Judicature, the want of Judges regularly trained to the law. This is a fault much more easily pointed out than remedied. The somewhat overstocked market, of

legal talent in England proffers a supply of "Barristers of five years' standing" as a panacea for all the ills to which the Indian suitor is heir. We have no wish to disparage the article which is tendered to us; but, admitting that it has many good qualities, we see more difficulty in the way of its universal application in India than are perhaps apparent to many an honest reformer, who recommends its introduction from the vicinity of Westminster Hall.

In the first place we have to point attention to its costliness. It has been seen that the courts of first instance for the trial of civil causes, of whatever magnitude and importance, are presided over by Judges of whom the highest in rank has a salary of but 600 rupees a month, or about £700 a year. This would hardly tempt even Mr. Briefless to emigrate to India; much less would it suffice to procure the services of any English Lawyer, whose legal attainments would be superior to those of the Judges now on the Mofussil Bench. Probably competent English Lawyers might be prevailed upon to accept Zillah Judgeships on 2,500 rupees a month, with the Sudder Bench and its 4,000 rupees a month in prospect; but much would have to be done before an English Lawyer would be fitted for the post of a Judge in the Mofussil. The language in which the proceedings in each Zillah Court are conducted is the Vernacular of the district. Few men of the maturity of Barristers of five years' standing can acquire the familiar use of a tongue which they have not learned during their youth. This difficulty might perhaps be met by making use of Interpreters to explain the oral and written evidence to the court, as is done in the Supreme Court, and by requiring the pleadings to be conducted in English. We are far from contending that this might not be a wise arrangement. No measure would have a greater tendency to increase English influence in India. Few who could afford to pay for an education would remain ignorant of the language in which causes involving their fortunes and liberties might be debated. Channels for the diffusion of English ideas and English civilisation would thus be opened in every direction, and would permeate the very penetralia of Indian Society. The courts themselves would be much improved, as well by their proceedings being made more open to that portion of the public which understands the proper use of a free press, as by the more frequent appearance at their bar of a higher order of practitioners trained in the Supreme and Sudder Courts. But this alteration, desirable as it might be, could not be carried into effect without considerable previous delay spent in the training of Interpreters and of Pleaders able to conduct arguments in English.

Supposing this preliminary change made, we should still regret to see the present Mofussil Judges displaced by men fresh from England. We cannot but feel many mis-givings that, were the appointments to the Mofussil Bench made under ministerial patronage, interest rather than legal competency would form, in the majority of instances, the recommendation to office. Even should a miraculous intervention in favor of India prove superior to the besetting sin of English Statesmen, there would yet remain the consideration, that even an able English Lawyer would have much to learn before he could become an efficient Judge in the Mofussil. It is a great mistake to suppose that, under the present system, most of the Zillah Judges are men of no judicial experience, that men are pitch-forked from the Secretary's Office or the Custom House upon the Bench, and that a Covenanted Servant of Government is frequently found meting out salt one day and justice the next. We have carefully traced the previous career in the public service of the thirty Judges and Additional Judges, who were actually presiding in the Zillah Courts of the Bengal Provinces at the commencement of last year, and find that, with very rare exceptions, they have risen regularly through the grades of Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector, or to the Commissioner of Revenue, of Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector, of Magistrate or Collector, or Magistrate and Collector, to the rank of Civil and Sessions Judge. The only exceptions worth noticing are in the cases of one officer, who was for about two years and a half Deputy Register in the Sudder Court, one who was between three and four years Superintendent of Revenue Surveys, one who was for four years and a half in the Salt and Opium Department, one who was for about seven years Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal, one who was between two and five years a Salt Agent, one who was for two years Assistant to the Resident at Singapore, one who was for two years Commissioner for the Suppression of Dacoity, with the powers of a Magistrate, and one who was for about six or seven years Assistant to the Resident at Penang and Wellesley, and one for three years Assistant Resident in the Straits.

The average period which we find to have elapsed between the arrival of the young Civilian in India, and his becoming vested for a permanence with the full powers of Magistrate or Collector is just nine years.

The average period between arrival and attaining for a permanence to the full powers of Civil and Sessions Judge has been nineteen years and a quarter.

After making allowances for absence on furlough or sick leave, this would give us about seventeen years' of actual service in

the assistance of a corps of retainers every whit as cunning and well-trained as the official pack to baffle the exertions of his pursuers. The two plot and counter-plot, thrust and parry, keep mutual watch and ward, and the contest becomes one of much interest and excitement. When, at length, the Magistrate thinks that he has stopped up every avenue to escape, and has become not a little exasperated at the difficulties he has experienced in so doing, he takes his seat as Judge to pronounce upon the conclusiveness of the evidence which he has himself got together. It would require a something unusual ingeniousness of mind on the part of the Magistrate to allow, at this stage of the proceedings, what may perhaps be the fact, that he has been duped by a conspiracy into taking all his foregone trouble to hunt down an innocent man, whose struggles have not been to evade justice, but to frustrate the wiles of some concealed enemy who has had the whole subordinate Police in his pay to furnish the lying reports by which the Magistrate has been stimulated to exertion. We hold it to be impossible that the duties of Prosecutor and Judge should be carried on simultaneously and satisfactorily by the same individual. Yet that a Mofussil Magistrate does act in such double capacity we have proof in the written decision now before us of one of those Officers recording a judgment which was afterwards reversed on appeal by the highest court. We find in this judicial decision such passages as the following:—"Amidst much other work I have, to my own 'mind, *satisfactorily proved* that these letters were really 'written by the amlah, whom they purport to be written by;" and again, "Now *I have proved* by perfectly independent testimony, and by documentary evidence, and by strict Police 'investigation, that this man was the gomashita of the defendant." Can the same man prove and judge of the cogency of the proof?

Not the least of the advantages to be derived from dissociating the offices of Superintendent of Police and Magistrate would be that the conduct of the native subordinate Police Officers would pass under review of an Officer unconnected with the Police Department. Great abuses, among which may be mentioned the torturing of prisoners and witnesses, extortion and the fabrication of confessions, would thus be detected and checked. Under the present system the Magistrate is loath to believe ill of an officer from whose ability and zeal he may have derived much valuable assistance in the detection of crime and the apprehension of offenders. The Police Darogah generally manages to "get the length of the Magistrate's foot," and of no small profit to himself, but of infinite detriment

to the rest of Her Majesty's liege subjects, is this result of his skill in the art of mensuration.

We shall close our article, which has already extended far beyond the limits which we originally designed, with a few words upon a question always keenly debated whenever the subject of Reform of the Indian Courts is brought under discussion—the propriety or otherwise of subjecting the British-born subjects of Her Majesty residing in the Mofussil to the jurisdiction of the local criminal courts. We have already mentioned that the members of this class of residents in India are amenable, except as respects a few trivial misdemeanors, to no other criminal jurisdiction than that exercised by the Supreme Court established by Royal Charter at the capital of the Presidency to which they belong. The necessity which this involves of dragging the accused and the witnesses for the prosecution and defence over distances measured by hundreds of miles, not only occasions great public expense and private inconvenience, but also tends in a good measure to secure to the privileged class an immunity from punishment for all but the most heinous crimes. That such a state of things is highly objectionable cannot be denied, but the true Briton contends that any evil is to be tolerated rather than that he should be robbed, within the dominions of the British Crown, of his birth-right, trial by Jury; which it is admitted he cannot have, except as the mere mockery of a form, elsewhere than at the Presidency Towns. The advocate of general principles insists that no Government justly deserves the allegiance of its subjects which does not provide equal laws for all alike. The Anglo-Saxon, on the other hand, protests against being sacrificed to a dogma, and syllogized out of the liberty which his fore-fathers won with their blood. He maintains that the natives of India have now better Courts of Justice than they ever had under their own Sovereigns—that they do not ask for and would not appreciate trial by Jury; that the movement a-foot is not to give them better institutions, but him worse.

The logic of the Reformer is the simpler, and has prevailed with English Statesmen and Parliamentary Committees, who have perhaps only erred in mistaking India for Utopia. Before the mutinies “one people, one law” was the doctrine in the mouth of every one except the Anglo-Saxon Interloper himself. The Legislative Council was preparing to pass an harmonious vote for the abolition of the last remains of class privilege in India; and the writer of this article was one of those who looked on approvingly. He confesses that the late social convulsion has somewhat shaken his faith in the present applicability of the “one people, one law” maxim to the Government of India. He acknow-

ledges that the troubles of 1857 fell very far short of a national insurrection against the British; still, there was much to show that Christian, Mussulman, and Hindoo have not become one people. The rising was not universal, still, as far as it went, it was a rising upon the Christian. It cannot be forgotten that what the British had to struggle against was an attempt at extermination, of a character sufficiently extensive and formidable to give rise to serious speculation how far it may be necessary to the maintenance of the British in India as an *existing* race that they should continue to be a *ruling* race. One effect of our meditations on the mutinies has been to modify the views which we before entertained as to the propriety of extending the criminal jurisdiction of the Mofussil Courts over British-born subjects, at any rate to the extent of making it appear to us inexpedient that the British-born should be rendered amenable to criminal punishment by any Judge but one of the same extraction as himself. We think that it would be unwise and unsafe to accustom the turbulent classes of the population of India to the spectacle of a Native Magistrate passing sentence upon an European. The upper classes of natives might feel edified by the sight, discovering in it the evidence of the existence of paternal and even-handed government. But the mass would only recognise it as a proof of the degradation of the *Sahib-log*, and a sign prophetic of the fall of our rule. It would have the additional disadvantage of tending to keep alive the feeling of exasperation which the late disturbances have created in the bosoms of those who had to fight *pro aris et focis*. For these reasons we would limit the measure of reform to bringing the British residents in the interior under the criminal jurisdiction of the Covenanted Magistrate and Sessions Judge only, giving them also the privilege of appeal, not to the Nizamut Adawlut, as at present constituted, but to the Supreme Court. This would be a compromise, by a ready acceptance of which the British in the Mofussil might, we think, avoid the more sweeping reform with which they are threatened. Let them ask themselves whether the danger to an innocent man is more than imaginary from a change which would give him, in place of a trial by Jury, a rehearing both on fact and law before a bench constituted of three English Barristers. Let them also consider that, as respects the class of cases in which they are now subject to the Criminal Courts of the Mofussil, there would be a positive gain to them, by the appeal lying, not from Civil Servant to Civil Servant, but from Civil Servant to British Lawyer. Change, we believe, to be inevitable. It is true that the Legislative Council in Calcutta, sitting in Committee to consider the Code of Criminal Procedure

recommended by the Royal Commissioners above mentioned, has hesitated to act upon the principle which appeared to the same Council, sitting in 1857, too obvious to admit of discussion. On the occasion last mentioned both of the Judges of the Supreme Court who had seats in Council admitted that "the time for 'removing the exclusive privilege enjoyed by the British subjects, 'with respect to the trial of offence committed by them, and 'for making them amenable to the criminal jurisdiction of the 'Mofussil Courts, had now arrived." These were the words of the late Chief Justice in March 1857. May of the same year saw the first of the massacres which formed so fearfully a distinguishing feature of the Indian Mutinies, and the effect of which has been, in the judgment of Sir James Colville's successor, and of many other thinking men in India, to put back the hand on the dial of Indian Law Reform for the space of some degrees. So that when, on the 3rd of September last, the Legislative Council of India went into adjourned Committee on the proposed new Criminal Code, it was resolved both to continue the exemption of European British-born subjects from the jurisdiction of the Mofussil Courts, and to take away from the Native Magistrates the power of committing such subjects for trial. But will the effect be the same on the opinions of English Statesmen? We think not. No long interval after the arrival of the news of the extinction of the last embers of rebellion in India will bring forgetfulness of its horrors over the minds of those who are far from the scene of their perpetration, and safe from apprehension of their renewal. Again, will Parliamentary orators philosophically enunciate that "it is a necessary consequence of the admission 'of Europeans to place them on the same policy and under 'the same laws as the Natives," and the doubts of those who legislate under local influences will be derided and overruled. Change, we repeat, is, in our opinion, inevitable. To endeavor to guide rather than to resist it is the policy which we recommend. The fool curses fate, the wise man propitiates fortune.

ART. V.—*Ceylon : an Account of the Island, Physical, Historical, and Topographical.* By Sir EMERSON TENNENT, L. L. D., &c.

NEXT to our desire to gain all possible information concerning the things of to-day, is the anxiety we feel touching the affairs of the past. Not unfrequently, indeed, we attach more importance to the dim and uncertain records of antiquity than to the plain and veritable annals of our own period. Our natural love of the romantic and the wonderful goes far to account for this, and we have long ceased to feel surprised that fossil remains, curious inscriptions, and crumbling ruins should frequently attract more notice and cause more excitement than any event of the present day, however important.

The volume before us is perhaps more replete with antiquarian wealth, more sparkling with rare gems plucked from the depths of the past, than any book that has appeared before the public since "Nineveh." Layard took the reading world by storm, and fairly bewildered his readers amidst labyrinthine chapters of the vast creation of an olden world. There is, however, this noteworthy difference that, whereas in the case of the Ninevite excavations, the world were fully prepared to hear strange and startling revelations concerning the departed glory of a once mighty empire, few indeed could have anticipated the romantic narrative unfolded by Sir Emerson Tennent touching the past greatness of a people now so little esteemed as the Singalese.

The voyager from the West, reaching Point de Galle by any one of the Peninsular and Oriental Steamers, cannot be otherwise than struck with the marvellous richness and beauty of the scenery that lies unfolded before his delighted gaze, contrasting so strongly with the sterile barrenness of Suva and Aden. The long line of bright green palms, waving gracefully to the breeze. the rich verdure of the foliage that crowds every nook and cranny on the shore: the beauty of the distant hills seen in the freshness of the early morn. the many gorgeous flowers that meet him at every turn on shore: all these may, will, make a deep and pleasurable impression on the mind of a traveller fresh from the Western World, and induce him to endorse the poetic title of the island, which somebody has called "the Eden of the eastern wave."

The motley crowd of strangely garbed Asiatics that jostles one on landing on that grassy shore the dark frowning battlements of the ancient fort: the grim archway, with the quaint Dutch figures in stone over it: the grim Malay guard lounging beneath it: the pretty bay and the picturesque hill on one side, with

the fortification and light-house on the other, all help to lend attractions to a spot that is in every sense of the word welcome to the sea-weary voyager. Yet of all the thousands of travellers homewards and outwards, who have passed over the waters of that picturesque little bay, none have ever dreamt the strange story of the past revealed in the pages of this most entertaining and instructive book. Scriptural associations, remotest records of profane history, the legends of the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*, may be found blended with the early annals of "the utmost Indian Isle Taprobane." Where we now behold, on the arrival of each steamer from east or west, the busy throng of cunning Moors eager in the sale of their jewelled wares to the unsuspecting traveller—two thousand years ago might have been seen the Arab dealers from the Red Sea bartering with the enterprising traders of China aromatic drugs, gems, and pearls for silken goods, woollen cloths, carpets, golden vessels, &c.

There is perhaps more of historical interest attaching to the port of Galle than to any other harbour in the Eastern Seas. In modern times Galle was the mart of Portugal, and afterwards of Holland; and long before the flags of either nation had appeared in its waters, it was one of the entrepôts whence the Moorish traders of Malabar drew the productions of the remoter east, with which they supplied the Genoese and Venetians, who distributed them over the countries of the west. Galle was the "Kalah" at which the Arabians in the reign of Haroun Alraschid met the junks of the Chinese, and brought back gems, silks, and spices from Serendib to Bussorah. The Sabeans, centuries before, included Ceylon in the rich trade which they prosecuted with India, and Galle was probably the furthest point eastward ever reached by the Persians, by the Greeks of the lower Empire, by the Romans, and by the mariners of Berenice, in Egypt, under the Ptolemies. But an interest, deeper still, attaches to this portion of Ceylon, inasmuch as it seems more than probable that the long-sought locality of Tarshish may be found to be identical with that of Point de Galle.

Bochart was not the first who rejected the idea of Tarshish having been a Phœnician colony, situated at the mouth of the Guadalquivir,* and intimated that Ophir must be sought for in the direction of India; but he was the first who conjectured that Ophir was Kondramalie, on the north-west of Ceylon, and that Tarshish must have been somewhere in the vicinity of Cape Camorin. His general inference was correct and

* *Tennent's Ceylon*, Vol. I., Part IV., pages 444 and 445

irresistible from the tenor of the sacred writings; but from want of topographical knowledge, Bochart was in error as to the actual localities. Gold is not to be found in Kondramalie; and Cory being neither an Island nor a place of trade, does not correspond to the requirements of Tarshish. Subsequent investigation has served to establish the claim of Malacca to be the golden land of Solomon, and Tarshish, which lay in the track between the Arabian Gulf and Ophir, is recognisable in the great emporium of Ceylon.

The ships intended for the voyage were built by Solomon at Ezion-Geber, on the shores of the Red Sea; the rowers coasted along the shores of Arabia and the Persian Gulf, headed by an east wind. Tarshish, the port for which they were bound, was in an island, governed by Kings, and carrying on an extensive foreign trade. The voyage occupied three years in going and returning from the Red Sea, and the cargoes brought home to Ezion-Geber consisted of gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks. Gold could have been shipped at Galle from the vessels which brought it from Ophir; silver spread into plates, which is particularised by Jeremiah as an export of Tarshish, is one of the substances on which the sacred books of the Singalese are even now inscribed; ivory is found in Ceylon, and must have been both in abundant and full grown there before the discovery of gunpowder led to the wanton destruction of elephants; apes are indigenous to the Island, and pea-fowls are found there in numbers. It is very remarkable, too, that the terms by which these articles are designated in the Hebrew Scriptures are identical with the Tamil names, by which some of them are called in Ceylon to the present day: thus *tukeyim*, which is rendered "peacocks" in one version, may be recognised in *tokei*, the modern name for these birds; "*kapi*," apes, is the same in both languages; and the Sanskrit "*ibha*," ivory, is identical with the Tamil "*ibacu*."

Thus, by geographical position, by indigenous productions, and by the fact of its having been from time immemorial the resort of merchant ships from Egypt, Arabia, and Persia, on the one side, and India, Java, and China on the other, Galle seems to present a combination of every particular or essential to determine the problem so long undecided in biblical dialectics, and to establish its own identity with the Tarshish of the sacred historians, the mart so long frequented by the ships of Tyre and Judea.

The well-known story of the mountain of loadstone, related in the adventures of the *Third Calendar* to the ladies of Bagdad, is closely connected with Ceylon, and the custom, which

has prevailed there from the most ancient times, of fastening together their ships and boats by means of wooden pegs and cords, no nails whatever entering into their construction. The reason for this custom is stated by Palladius, a Greek writer, to have been the existence of the loadstone mountain in the near vicinity of Ceylon. Palladius, in describing the Island says, that the magnetic rock is in the Maldives, and that ships coming within the sphere of its influence are irresistibly drawn towards it, and lose all power of progress, except in its direction. Hence (he adds,) it is essential that vessels sailing for Ceylon should be fastened with wooden instead of iron bolts. The strange story is likewise alluded to by Aristotle, Pliny, and Ptolemy, whilst Klaproth speaks of it as current amongst the old Chinese authors, who, however, placed the loadstone rock on the coast of Cochin-China.

Thus does one author link the stern realities of history with the picturesque fables of romance in his entertaining volumes. We are delighted with the rich panorama of the past that our author flings with so much artistic skill, and are tempted to wish that we were more liberally treated with the historic revelations of the *Mahawanso* and the *Rajavale*. There is, however, sufficient in these volumes to pourtray the Taprobane of the past,—the Ceylon of yore, in colors vivid enough to make up as striking pictures of an Empire laid in the dust as ever fell from human pen.

The contrast between the pyramids of Gizeh and the mud hovels on the Nile, is not greater than that between the ruined cities of Ceylon and the scattered clumps of huts between the palm topes of to-day. Until within the last few years the extent and character of most of these vestiges of palatial cities were unknown. Hidden amidst the thickest and most unhealthy jungle, sheltered by thorns and brambles of gigantic size, travellers have visited but the outskirts of the largest of these ruins, "Palanarva : " it was left for Sir Emerson Tennent to fully explore its vastness, and describe its greatness and its beauty. Until the character of these were made known, the colossal tanks and works of irrigation, still partly standing, wonderful amidst their ruins, were a riddle. Our knowledge of the one is a key to the explanation of the other, and we now know where dwelt the multitudes for whom and by whom these titanic works were executed. A single bund of such gigantic proportions, as to be estimated as having occupied a million of laborers for ten years, is a fitting companion to a city measuring several miles in circumference : and although we are not prepared to place implicit faith in the statements in the *Rajavale*, which make mention of nearly a million and a half

of villages as existing in Ceylon in the fourteenth century, we can readily concede that, when the Island was in the zenith of its prosperity, the population of Ceylon may have been fully ten times as great as it is at the present time, and amounted to fifteen millions. The huge irrigation works of which we speak are not isolated instances of a great combination of skill and labor, but exist, though not all of such colossal proportions, in hundreds scattered over every district of the western part of the Island.

When England was held by Roman soldiers, ere the strong hand of the Saxons had torn the semi-barbarous Island from the grasp of the Centurion, when London was composed of a few hundred mud huts, and when the name of Britons was associated with that of slaves, Ceylon was ruled by a race of monarchs whose life was one round of regal splendour, equalled only by that of Imperial Rome; whose palaces and temples would have borne comparison with those of the Eternal City; and whose vast earth-works fling far into the shade anything to be found in the Western World.

It is true that, in the present day, we meet with no remains of domestic architecture amidst the "round cities of Ceylon;" the royal palaces, temples, and mountains are all that remain to us in greater or less preservation, which is explained by the circumstances that the people—the laity—of whatever rank, were not permitted to employ stone or fire-burnt bricks in the construction of their dwellings—a distinction reserved for royalty and the priesthood: the people were forbidden to construct their houses of any better material than sun-baked-earth,* a practice which continued to the latest periods, and nothing struck the British Army of occupation with more surprise, on entering the city of Kandy after its capture in 1815, than to find the palaces and temples alone constructed of stone, whilst the private dwellings were invariably formed of mud and thatch. Under these circumstances we must cease to be surprised that, in the present day, we discover no traces of the private dwellings of the people of those remote times; since no material would be sooner swept away, when once exposed to the ravages of a tropical climate, than that employed by the Singalese laity of Palanarva and Anaradjahpoora.

Enough, however, remains of their priestly and kingly structures to bear testimony to the wealth and power of the race then dominant in Ceylon, the descriptions of which, as given us by Sir Emerson Tennent, and read by the historic light of the *Mahawanso*, are full, complete, and conclusive.

* *Tennent's Ceylon*, Vol. I, Part IV, page 478.

Although Anaradjahpoora was the original capital of the monarchs of Ceylon to as late a period as the close of the eighth century, when Mahindo first finally abandoned that city for its more northern rival, Palanarva, nevertheless the latter city had attained a considerable degree of splendour long anterior to that date. Stretching along the borders of the beautiful Lake "Topa-weva," the desolate ruins of this ancient capital strike the beholder even in the present day with wonder and admiration, and enable him to form some conception of what the gorgeous city must have been in all its noon-tide splendour, when its myriads of stately buildings, with their gilded cupolas, were reflected in the still expanse of the waters, or embowered in the dense foliage of the surrounding forests.

In the most palmy days of Palanarva, the city and its suburbs extended to a distance of 30 miles in length, by 4 in breadth.* It was surrounded by a lofty and substantial wall pierced with many gates, and within it stood a citadel of no mean capacity, capable of withstanding a long siege.

Great outlay appears to have been made by several sovereigns, but specially by the Queen of the great Prakrama, upon enlarging and beautifying the Lake of "Topa-weva;" and it was on the border of one side of this vast sheet of water that the favorite palace of the Singalese Kings was erected, whose gilded roofs and lofty towers, whose noble halls and spacious terraces are the theme of many parts of the *Mahawanso*.

The most extensive palace of the king was, however, further north, and nearly in the centre of the city. Here, after traversing many wide and well-made streets, filled with the bazaars of traders and long rows of private dwellings, with Wihares and priestly buildings at frequent intervals, stood the "seven-storied house," as it is called in the historic records, containing four thousand rooms, and supported by many hundreds of pillars.

In front of this royal residence lies an enormous carved stone, known as the "*Gal Pota*" or "Stone Book," from its great resemblance to a volume of Singalese olas. This huge stone block is twenty-six feet in length, by fully four in breadth and two in thickness; upon its face is an inscription in which may be read;—"This engraved stone is the one which the strong men 'of the King Nissanga brought from the mountain of Mahintelai, 'at Anaradjahpoora;'" whilst along its edges are copious carvings of a rich character, such as may be found on some of the Buddhistical edifices still existing, amongst which are seen, in great profusion, the "*Hanza*" or sacred Goose of the Buddhists.

* Tennent's Ceylon, Vol. II., Part X., page 584

The situation and position of the Royal Palace of Palanarva are precisely such as might have been looked for under the circumstances. It was to be expected that monarchs who regarded the priestly order with so much veneration, and listened to their words as the direct oracles of Buddha himself, should give prominence and position to every thing that had reference to them. Hence we find that not only were the Buddhist priests alone entitled to the royal distinction of dwelling in edifices of stone as richly ornamented as the Palaces themselves, but their abodes were in the immediate vicinity of the regal dwellings, that is to say, in the more silent portions of the city. There is nothing on record to warrant us in believing that even the Singalese nobles and chiefs were allowed the priestly privilege of stone walls: on the contrary, the customs in this respect, which do not appear to have undergone any change during many centuries, were found to be as described by the British on their victorious entry into Kandy in 1815. The sole difference that appeared to exist between the chiefs and the people consisted in the greater extent of their dwellings, which generally comprised a range extending round four sides of a square with narrow verandahs more or less ornamented, but still of no more noble material than the hut of the meanest subject.

That the sovereigns of Ceylon should have dwelt amidst cities of mud and thatch, in rude barbaric pomp, surrounded by the utmost splendour that could be allowed in those ages, need scarcely be matter for surprise, or call for any comment from us. The king and the priest stood exalted far above the nation; between them and the people there was a vast barrier; even the acknowledged chiefs of the community were scarcely raised above the great common herd, and could boast of none of the social privileges accorded them in other countries. Amidst the numberless ruins of ancient edifices in Ceylon, more or less perfect as regards their structure and ornamentation, there is no single vestige of any buildings, but such as were the abodes of the priesthood or the sovereign.

Of these two classes of structures, it would not perhaps be very easy to determine which were the more elegant, more extensive, or more elaborately ornamented, though there can be no question that the priesthood monopolised by far the greater number in both Palanarva and Anaradjahpoora. Not merely in the vast piles of buildings sacred to the worship of Buddha was the national skill, industry, and wealth brought into full requisition, but the utmost resources of the people were lavished upon the edifices devoted to the use of the priesthood. On the ruins of one of these are plainly visible, at the present day, a long list of inscriptions in stone, containing an

enumeration of the establishment of the monastery to which it pertained.

According to this there were dwelling in that one building a thousand priests, and the inscription goes on to recount the number of cooks, water-carriers, grass-cutters, sweepers, &c., &c., belonging to the establishment, the nature of which may indeed be gathered from the multitude of stone and brick ruins scattered about on every side.

According to the early annals of Ceylon the construction of dwellings for the devotees of Buddha preceded the erection of temples for his worship. During the first ages of Buddhism the priests usually selected a cave in some secluded spot cut from the solid rock, many of which exist to the present day. As the number of priests multiplied, it became necessary to provide shelter for them more readily constructed and placed together in the near vicinity of the principal dagobas. These were at first huts of rudest construction, covered with thatch; by degrees they associated a more substantial form and character, until at length they grew to the dimensions and solidity of which we have already spoken.

But if the priests were nobly housed, how much more so were the god himself and the sacred relics of his faith. Anaradjahpoora rivals Palanarva in the number, the extent, and the beauty of its sacred edifices. Not only do the ruins, still in good preservation, bear testimony to the magnificence of these temples, not only do the sacred annals of the Singalese,—*Mahavamsa* and the *Rajavale*—dwell upon the character of the ancient dagobas of Ceylon, but the works of Chinese travellers, especially those of Fa Hian, bear ample testimony to the character, style, and extent of the ancient capitals of Ceylon, and of their sacred buildings. The latter writer says, when speaking of Anaradjahpoora:—"The city is the residence 'of many magistrates, grandees, and foreign merchants; the 'mansions beautiful, the public buildings richly adorned, the 'streets and highways straight and level, and houses for preaching built at every thoroughfare." The *Leang-shu*, a Chinese history of the Leang Dynasty, written between A. D. 507—509, describing the cities of Ceylon at that period, says:—"The 'houses had upper stories, the walls were built of brick and 'secured for double gates."

Fa Hian, in alluding to the extensive works at *Mahuntelai*, tells us that this lofty and precipitous mountain is situated about 8 miles to the north-east of Anaradjahpoora, but connected with the ancient city, in the time of the kings, by one continuous street, along which were conducted the solemn processions of the priests. The ascent to the summit is

effected by series of stone steps, about two thousand in number, winding past the ruins of former buildings, temples, dagobas, and shrines; and on the loftiest peak, which commands a view over the forest country beneath to the very verge of the horizon, there exists one of those prodigious structures of brick-work, under which is deposited a sainted relic of Buddha, a hair which grew on a mole between his eyebrows. With such veneration have the Singalese been accustomed to regard this sacred mountain, that every crag has some tradition, and every rock has been scarped into sites for religious buildings, amidst the ruins of which are to be traced the fragments of broken statues, and inscriptions in the Nagri character, the most ancient in which the dialect of Pali has been written.

Mahintelai is undoubtedly the most ancient scene of mountain worship in Ceylon. Venerated by the Singalese, ere Gotama impressed his footstep on the summit of Adam's Peak, its highest point was known in the sacred legends as the cliff of Ambatthalo, on which Mahindo alighted when arriving in Ceylon to establish the religion of Buddha; it was to a spot near the summit that the king was led to follow a *devo*, under the form of an elk, when he encountered the great apostle, and became his first convert; here it was that Mahindo died, and upon this holy hill, his disciples, in remembrance of his virtues, bestowed the name of their divine teacher. On a small plateau near the top the dwellings of the priests and the principal buildings are grouped round the Ambustella Dagoba, which marks the spot whereon occurred the interview between Mahindo and his royal convert Devenipatissa. Unlike the generality of such monuments, the Ambustella is built of stone, instead of brick, on a terrace encircled by octagonal pillars, the capitals of which are ornamented by carvings of the sacred goose. Close beside it is a broken statue of the pious monarch. The cells are still remaining, which, according to the *Mahawanso*, Devenipatissa caused to be hollowed in the rocks, and near them is the Nagasandhi tank made for the priesthood by king Aggrabadhi, A. D. 589. Thence the last flight of steps leads to the summit of Ambatthalo, crowned by the Etwihare Dagoba, a semi-circular pile of brick-work of one hundred feet high, which enshrines a single hair from the forehead of Buddha. This remarkable structure has stood for upwards of eighteen centuries. It was built by Baatiya Raja about the first year of the Christian era, and the *Mahawanso* relates that, on its completion, the king caused it to be enveloped in a jewelled covering ornamented with pearls, and spread a foot carpet from Mahintelai to Anaradjahpoora, that pilgrims might proceed all the

way with unwashed feet. The rock in many places bears inscriptions, recording the munificence of the sovereigns of Ceylon, and the ground is strewn with the fragments of broken carved-work and the debris of ruined buildings. On the face of the cliff, a ledge of granite, artificially levelled, is pointed out as "the bed of Mahindo;" from which a view of extraordinary beauty extends over an expanse of foliage that stretches to the verge of the horizon. Towering above this ocean of verdure are the gigantic dagobas of Anaradjahpoora, whose artificial lakes lie glittering in the sunbeams below; and, dim in the distance, is descried the sacred rock of Dambool, and the mysterious summit of the Rittagalla mountain.*

The road leading from the base of Mahintelai to Anaradjahpoora, a distance of 8 miles, is marked by as many traces of antiquity as the Appian way from Aricia to Rome. It passes between mouldering walls, by mounds where the grass imperfectly conceals the ruins beneath, and by fragments of fallen columns that mark the sites of perished monuments. It was the *Via Sacra* of the Buddhist hierarchy, along which they conducted processions led by their sovereigns from the temple at the capital to the peak of Ambatthalo. Though now overgrown with jungle and forest trees, it was traversed by chariots two thousand years ago, where the pious king sent his carriage to bring Mahindo to the sacred city.

The traveller of the present day may find ample testimony in the existing ruins, to the former magnificence of this ancient capital of the "Kingdom of Lions." Amidst the grass-grown streets are plainly visible the hundreds of massive stone pillars that formerly supported the great brazen Palace of Dutugainnum, said to have been elaborately ornamented, and in many parts covered with designs in copper.

Adjoining this edifice are still the ruins of the Place of Lamentation for the Royal family, an Assembly Hall for the Priests, and the Palace of the Peacock; the latter built in the first century of the Christian era.

Farther on may still be seen the crumbled remains of a dagoba built B. C. 161, by Dutugainnum, to commemorate the recovery of his kingdom. The "Dagoba of the Golden Dust" lies in ruins at no great distance from the Brazen Temple: it was begun by Dutugainnum one hundred and sixty years before the Christian era, and occupied twenty years in its construction. To-day its site is marked by a pile of masonry between one and two hundred feet in height, overgrown with lofty trees, but the remains of the massive terrace, which once supported the

* Tennent's Ceylon, Vol II., Part X., pages 606 and 607

building and the fragments of colossal stone elephants, bear testimony to the original grandeur of the structure.

A loftier ruin, that of the *Abhayagiri*, is still extant, two hundred and forty feet in height, and is also upwards of two thousand years old, whilst near the intersection of two of the principal streets of the city were the lofty remains of the *Thepudarama*, constructed for the reception of the collar-bone of Buddha, three centuries before the Christian era, and at one time said to have been covered with a coating of metal ornamented with gold.

Some idea may be formed of the vastness of these Buddhist ruins and of the stupendous magnitude of the original edifice, when it is stated that the solid mass of masonry comprised in one of them is not less than twenty millions of cubic feet, and according to our author would, in the present day, with all the appliances of modern art, occupy five hundred brick-layers for seven years, and involve an outlay of fully a million sterling. The materials, he tells us, are sufficient for the construction of streets each half a mile in length, or would form a wall one foot in thickness and ten feet in height, reaching from London to Edinburgh.*

The royal palaces of Anaradjahpoora and Palanarva were all more or less on a gigantic scale. The first that are mentioned in the *Mahawanso* are simply said to have contained many apartments; the date of these was four hundred years before the Christian era. Within two centuries of that period, however, arose the lofty *Lohapasada*, a palace of vast extent, according to the *Mahawanso*, the work of King Dutugainnum, having a quadrangular court one hundred cubic feet square, and a thousand dormitories. The *Sat-mal-pasado* or "seven storied-palace" of Prakrama I. exceeded this again in its extent and magnificence, being, according to the *Mahawanso*, "seven stories high, consisting of five thousand rooms lined with hundreds of stone columns and outer halls of an oval shape, with large and small gates, stair-cases, and glittering walls."†

The vast extent of ruins on the site of the two ancient capitals of Ceylon, many in excellent preservation, but the greater portion in confused heaps of brick-work and masonry scattered for many miles around, bear witness to the statements to be found in the Singalese Annals. We need no longer doubt that in these periods the monarchs of Ceylon ruled over a numerous race, possessed of skill in many matters that are now utterly lost to their descendants. Whatever wealth was

* *Tennent's Ceylon*, Vol. II., Part X., page 623.

† *Mahawanso*, Chapter LXXII.

possessed by the nation in those remote days, was no doubt in the hands of the sovereign and the priesthood: there is no record, to show that the people or their chiefs possessed wealth beyond such as might be represented by land and cattle. The foreign commerce of that early period was scarcely shared in by the Singalese, for, although there is every reason for believing that the barter carried on between the Arabs and the Chinese at the ports of the Island was of considerable value, the natives of the country partook but to a small extent of its advantages. Always averse to the sea, the Singalese have never ventured upon shipboard, and such vessels as were at times in the possession of the Singalese monarchs were manned entirely by strangers.

The articles of Ceylon produce exported from the Island in the period under notice consisted of natural productions, aromatic drugs, gems, pearls, and shells, whilst the imports were gold cloth, frankincense, sandal-wood, silk, vermilion, carpets, slaves, chariots, and horses. From the above list of imported articles, it is evident that the people derived no advantage from such a commerce, as they were all for kingly or priestly use.

There was nevertheless a considerable internal trade carried on, to which allusion is constantly made in the sacred books of the Island. We are there told that two centuries before the Christian era a visitor to Anaradjahpoora purchased aromatic drugs in the bazaars and departed by the northern gate, and that king Mahanago ranged shops on each side of the streets of the capital*. Further, that the country was traversed by caravans conveying merchandise, and that carts were employed between the capital and the country about Adam's Peak, bringing saffron and ginger, from which it is evident that roads must have existed long before the Christian era.

The student of Ceylon history may, at first, find it difficult to reconcile the past with the present,—to imagine that Ceylon of yore and the Ceylon of to-day are indeed one and the same. The grandeur, extent, and population of her ancient cities, the industry and intelligence of her numerous people excite our wonder and, perhaps, some doubts with it. But if we pursue the inquiry still further, if we compare the vestiges of the ancient palaces and temples with the ruins of their great works of irrigation, we shall be able at once to detect the truthfulness of those ancient records which relate the deeds and progress of the Singalese monarchs and their people.

Prominent amongst the great works constructed for the supply and retention of water is the Giants' Tank, a vast

* *Mahawanso*, page 138.

embankment, extending even in the present day, for more than 15 miles in a straight line, the retaining bund or earth-work being three hundred feet broad at the base. The area of the water this was intended to collect and preserve would have been nearly equal, it is said, to that of the Lake of Geneva. At present the bed of the tank forms the site of ten other populous villages, besides eight others that have been deserted. There is still in excellent preservation an immense causeway of cut granite, two hundred and fifty yards in length, and upwards of fifteen feet high, intended to divert the waters of the Malwatty-oya into the Giants' Tank, but it was never completed, and recent surveys have shown that, owing to an error in the original level, the channel could not have served the purpose for which it was intended. The whole undertaking appears to have been suddenly abandoned, and no record preserved of those engaged in the abortive task.

Another of these famous vestiges of ancient industry in Ceylon is the Kalaweva Tank, said to have been the most stupendous work of the kind. It was formed by King Datasena, about A. D. 460, by throwing an embankment across the Kalaoya, flowing from Dambool to Calpenty. The area submerged was more than 40 miles in circumference at a distance of 20 miles from the bund across the river, the water being conveyed to it by means of a canal: in the opposite direction another canal extended for 60 miles, supplying Anaradjah-poorā with water. The retaining bund of this vast tank is 12 miles long, and the spill-water formed of hammered granite is said, by Turnour, in a note to his translation of the *Mahawanso*, to have been one of the most stupendous monuments of misapplied human labor in the Island, for the superfluous waters, instead of escaping by the intended overfall, burst the enormous embankment, and the tank was rendered useless. This accident took place at a period so remote, that the once vast lake is thickly covered with huge forest trees, which extend even to the topmost summit of the long embankment.*

An account of Ceylon would be imperfect without some notice of one of its greatest antiquities; the Bo Tree of Anaradjah-poorā is the oldest historical tree in the world. The *Jaya Sri Maha Bodhi Wahanee*, or "the Victorious, Illustrious Supreme Lord, the sacred Bo Tree," as it is termed in the oriental language of the *Mahawanso*, was planted 288 years before the Christian era, consequently it is at the present time 2,147 years old, or more than a century older than the most ancient trees of which we possess any record. By its side the

* *Tennent's Ceylon*, Vol. II., Part X., page 602.

famous oak tree of Ellerslie is the merest sapling, and the Conqueror's Oak in Windsor Forest comparatively of modern date; while the Olive in the garden of Gethsemane, and the Cypress of Soma in Lombardy, the latter dating back to the period of Julius Cæsar, are both junior to the famed Bo Tree of Anaradjahpoora.

There is, it is true, an imaginary antiquity attaching to some trees, such as the chesnut of Mount Etna, and the baobab of Senegal, but entirely upon supposititious grounds, there being nothing beyond the merest conjectures relating to their ages, whereas the historians of Ceylon hand us down a series of chronological passages, detailing the continued existence of this identical tree through a succession of generations down to the present time.

The planting of this venerated tree is recorded with great minuteness in the pages of the *Mahawanso*, where we are told that it was a branch of the identical tree under which Gotama Buddha reclined at Uruwelaya, when he underwent his apotheosis.* It need not be matter for surprise, therefore, that the Buddhists of the present day hold this tree in the highest veneration, a reverence, indeed, which has been shared in by their ancestors for ages past. Pilgrims visit the tree from all parts of Ceylon, and esteem it a privilege to be permitted to remove a handful of its fallen leaves, which they treasure with the same scrupulous care that was wont to be shown to a relic from Jerusalem by the Crusaders of the middle ages. Buddhism is to-day what it was a thousand years since; not more elevated certainly in the persons of its followers, for whom it can accomplish as little in this world perhaps as in the next.

Taking the book, we have thus rapidly glanced at, as a mirror of the past history of the Island and its people, it must be considered the most satisfactory production that has yet appeared. We could have wished to have had more details concerning the early European rule in Ceylon, but with that one exception the work leaves us nothing to desire concerning the past.

We may, on some future occasion, return to these volumes, and glean from them such facts as have reference to the more recent progress of the colony—a period full of suggestive teachings for the political economist and the philanthropist of any country.

* *Tennent's Ceylon*, Part X, page 614.

ART. VI.—*On Liberty.* By JOHN STUART MILL. London. Parker *1859.

ALTHOUGH this book has hardly been a year before the public, it has already received the assent of most thinking men at home. It is not easy to describe it more briefly than by saying that it is the Euclid of Utilitarianism; a progressive demonstration of the Law of Bentham—also perhaps that of the Gospel—that the object of civilisation and the basis of moral right is “the greatest happiness of the greatest number” Sneered at and stigmatised by opponents who (let us hope) did not understand what it meant, this sublime doctrine of love to one’s neighbor stands out in the cool light of Mr. Mill’s style, so as to render any illustration from our humbler labors a work of supererogation.

Starting, therefore, on the supposition that the principle is no longer contested, we propose to apply a few pages to a consideration of one or two Indian problems, more or less perplexed; and shall endeavor to show that a reference to Mr. Mill’s great principle will facilitate their solution. At first sight it may appear to be a dangerous task to speak of liberty in regard to a country which we have to rule by pure despotism. It is true that the necessities, if not the opinions, of the Whig Statesmen, who have had most to do with Indian affairs since Lord W. Bentinck, have forced them to liberalize institutions from time to time, and to conduct their despotism, as it has been said, upon revolutionary principles*. But this sort of thing came to a speedy termination in 1857, to the events of which period it had not a little contributed; and no one can say that the laws of that or the following year erred on the side of a too squeamish liberality.

The object, then, of these pages must be separated clearly from any wish to return to that state of things which existed “before the flood,” in those antediluvian days, when monsters possessed the earth in the form of brave and loyal sepoys, intelligent native gentlemen, and radical-reforming despots. It is not the extent to which liberty can be pushed, but rather the limits within which it ought, for the present, to be restricted, that we must consider in reference to Liberty in British India.

Mr. Mill’s book is divided into five chapters.

The first, or introductory, opens the question of the relations between liberty and authority in the history of the past. In primitive states of society the object of patriotism was to set

* See *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXI., pp. 474 et seq

bounds to the power of the Government, either by the establishment of rights—such as those provided for in *Magna Charta*—or by the devising of constitutional checks, as was done in England by slow degrees, and perhaps not completed till after the Revolution. The first, the providing of constitutional rights, based on an understood possibility of insurrection, is the present condition of British India. From the days of Lord Cornwallis, over a period of sixty-seven years, the foreigners who ruled the gradually expanding Empire, voluntarily conferred upon its population many privileges not admitted in native kingdoms, (and not always possessing any, even unrecognised, existence there,) but the conferring of which was thought necessary, from time to time, to keep our subjects in a state of peace, content, and order.

At the stage of constitutional checks we have not yet arrived ; though many think that the time for their initiation is at hand.

With the third stage, at least, we can have no concern : this is when the ruled, instead of being in opposition to their rulers, and constantly on the watch against their encroachments, succeed in organising a Government of delegates, to whom they give the whole of their own collective weight. This form of polity, which exists in its completest known character in the United States, is that also towards which the institutions of England seem fast drifting ; and it contains, as Mr Mill well shows, an element most menacing to the liberty of the individual, from which the most irresponsible despotisms are exempt. The only Indian adaptation of such a danger that we can offer as food for reflection, is as between the Government and the White Settler, and in the state of feeling which showed itself amongst Europeans towards the Natives during the past three years ; when it was, perhaps, happy for our honor as a race that we (the English in India) were not self-governed. But this is dangerous ground, and we pass on.

Chapter II introduces us to matter more applicable to our present circumstances ; the liberty of thought and discussion ; including, necessarily, that of the Press—a form of liberty which, (as Mr. Mill hints,) is more readily acquiesced in than understood. If an examination of the grounds on which freedom of speech and writing really rests should succeed in leading us to decide to what extent it can safely exist, or what are the largest limits we are justified in imposing upon it in British India, our studies from this book will not be thrown away, even should they lead to no further advantage.

Now, Mr. Mill assumes that the right of the public to express opinions opposed to those of Government is universally admitted, with one exception, to which we shall refer a little lower. But he says, that in England we are in danger of injuring individual liberty by preventing the expression of opinions which are

opposed to those of the public; and he shows, with great success, that the coercion of discussion by the public differs not in principle from a similar action on the part of a despotism. Thus, to take a familiar instance, a member of the Anglo-Indian community would have undergone much small persecution in this country had he written, or openly talked in defence of the sepoys during the late outbreak, yet Mr. Mill shows that he ought to have been allowed full liberty for the two-fold reason that, if right, (and even such a line of argument might have contained a portion of truth,) the public who stifle it lose the opportunity of correcting their own views; while, if it were wrong, (or as far as it was wrong,) they lose the clearer and livelier perception of truth produced by its collision with error.

But we said above, that Mr. Mill imputes to the friends of freedom one exception in their general recognition of the impropriety of State-interference with the expression of political sentiments opposed to its policy. He says, that a panic might, in England, lead to the revival of the penal laws against free writing; and, in a note, refers to the prosecutions which arose out of the attempt of Orsini on the French Emperor's life. He says, that these, in so far as they were directed against the abstract enunciation of the doctrine that tyrannicide was lawful, were ill-judged. Taken in its strongest sense, we might fancy Mr. Mill's logic leading to strange conclusions. Even were there a panic in England, on the subject of invasion, (as perhaps there was for a short time towards the end of last year,) would Mr. Mill object to the prosecution of an Englishman, who should be known to have acted as Marlborough is accused of acting by Macaulay, gone to the Emperor and pointed out weak spots for a landing, or written to him that, after a certain date, the Channel Fleet would be absent from a certain part of the narrow seas? And, to put the case home to our readers, could a native of India have claimed immunity if, in 1857, he had gone about the streets of Calcutta with a green flag, stirring up the people to rise and massacre the inhabitants of Chowringhee? Apparently Mr. Mill thinks he might if no overt act had followed; but surely this would be to measure his crime by a *post eventum* standard not admissible in matters of police.

If it be merely the object to show that neither the State, nor the majority of the public, has a right to prevent the free expression of opinion on open questions, then we would apply the liberty of the Press to India; but the fact of an overt act following or not following is no fair test of the danger to society of certain speeches or writings. "The greatest happiness of the greatest number" would be often imperilled in a country like this—supposing always the existence of the British Government

to be a benefit to the natives—and, therefore, it may follow that it is the duty of that Government to exercise a surveillance over the Native Press.

It must never be forgotten that, if the British or European element in this country is to be a public, (*i. e.*, anything more than a mere knot of State-functionaries,) many specialties must distinguish the legislation which concerns them from the laws that are framed for the natives. The attempt to include both classes under the same provisions, as regards the bearing or possessing of arms, failed as completely as did a similar policy with regard to the Press: and though there are obvious flaws in the working of the European Press of India, they proved from the hostility of Government rather than from its spirit of *laissez-faire*, like those of the Native Press

For instance, it has been often stated, that the Indian newspapers are scurrilous. This we think is quite untrue, but of course it must have a foundation. The foundation we hold to be just this:—The conduct of a public officer is commented upon generally in a letter which the dearth of interesting matter induces the Editor to admit as an indulgence to the love of scandal and personal gossip inseparable from the nature of his constituency. Unfortunately the regulations, and, still stronger, the etiquette of the Service alike prevent the officer so attacked from bringing forward his side of the story, either directly or otherwise; and thus the chief value of publicity—discussion—is foregone, and nothing is left but the bitterness caused by estrangement and contempt felt, reciprocally, by the services and the public

Again, it is said that the papers are dull, flippant, and purposeless. These charges, with modifications and exceptions, probably contain a *tant soit peu* of truth. Indian journals are about as interesting, it may be, as provincial journals in England; but, considering the culture, the social position, and official or business habits of the European public in India, they ought to be more than that. The fault here again is probably rather to be found with the Government, which withholds from them hundreds and thousands of important facts and documents which see the light for the first time in England, where they are not cared for, and are then copied by our papers when their immediate interest has passed away.

At page 57 occurs a note, directly bearing on a vital question of Indian liberty. After denouncing the error and crime of religious persecution in Europe, the author remarks —

“Ample warning may be drawn from the large infusion of the ‘passions of a persecutor, which mingled with the general display of the worst parts of our national character on the occasion of the Sepoy Insurrection. The ravings of fanatics or charlatans

‘from the pulpit may be unworthy of notice ; but the heads of the Evangelical party have announced as their principle, for the government of Hindoos and Mahomedans, that no schools be supported by public money in which the Bible is not taught, and, by necessary consequence, that no public employment be given to any but real or pretended Christians.’

An Under-Secretary of State, in a speech delivered to his constituents on the 12th of November 1857, is reported to have said :—“Toleration of their faith,” (the faith of a hundred millions of British subjects,) “the superstition which they called religion, by the British Government, had had the effect of retarding the ascendancy of the British name, and preventing the salutary growth of Christianity. Toleration was the great corner-stone of the religious liberties of this country ; but do not let them abuse that precious word toleration. As he understood it, it meant the complete liberty to all, freedom of worship among Christians, who worshipped upon the same foundation. It meant toleration of all sects and denominations of Christians who believed in the one mediation. I desire to call attention to the fact, that a man who has been deemed fit to fill a high office in the Government of this country, under a liberal Ministry, maintains the doctrine that all who do not believe in the divinity of Christ are beyond the pale of toleration. Who, after this imbecile display, can indulge the illusion that religious persecution has passed away, never to return ?”

We feel unwilling to add a word to this eloquent disclaimer ; but as some sincere and impulsive persons think that they have the high authority of Sir John Lawrence, for holding that, on a religious question, considerations of philosophical truth are out of place, we would just mention that the purely theological aspect of this, or any other, question, is equally foreign to a philosophical argument ; but that, nevertheless, if Christianity be true, it cannot be at variance with any other form of truth. And in point of fact the Founder of Christianity himself said—“My kingdom is not of this world ;” and the very section of the Christian public who are most vehement in favor of Government support to the propagation of their opinions, are headed by the opponents of Erastianism, most of whom have sundered from their brethren of the Scotch Kirk, not on any point of doctrine, but simply because they resented all shadow of State interference. To such therefore we would say, great is truth and it will prevail, but do not attempt to hurry its progress by the weapons of Cæsar, for they prove nothing ; on the contrary, there is a presumption almost amounting to certainty that the only results of physical

enforcement of opinions will be violent antipathy on the part of the bold, and hypocritical assent on the part of the mean.

It is obvious that the Roman Catholics of the middle-ages must have been at least as earnest and sincere as those of the present day. From these latter we are proud to differ; we look upon our Protestantism as upon a sacred birthright, the very centre of our liberties. Yet where had our Protestantism been, had the majority of the Princes of Luther's time been able to carry out the principles referred to in the latter part of Mr Mill's remarks above quoted? Luther's opinions, we say, were true, those of the Indian Moslems are not. granted, but what then? Is the test of truth in our opinions to be the strength of the party professing? Because in that case we must admit that truth changes when that party loses its strength; whereas truth is admitted to be eternal. Judged by this test, the pro-slavery doctrines of the Southern States of the Union are true, *and will continue to be so, until their opponents become stronger than those who profess them*. There is then but one justification, and that an immoral one, for showing favor to Christianity, or discountenancing any of the indigenous creeds. The British Government might say.—Hindooism and Islam have alike shown that they are dangerous forms of opinion, affording no guarantee for good conduct, but directly tending to cause rebellion and cruelty; while to make men outwardly Christians by the hope of State-reward would be to render all who became such aliens to the mass of their countrymen, and devote them, in self-defence, to our cause. But this is a crooked policy at best; and public feeling is at any rate too sound at the present day to support any British rulers in doing evil that good may come. Such Machiavelism is not consistent with the love of one's neighbor, for the assumption of that species of power, if generally applied, would not conduce to the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Besides, even in practice in this special case, it would be liable to fail. If the natives of India be as faithless as is generally supposed, what is to prevent them from making a tacit counter-arrangement by which aspirants for the favor of the ruling power and for Government employ should be allowed to bow down in the house of Rimmon, or should arrange among themselves to regard baptism as a Parliamentary form?

The whole passage from page 71 to page 78 is too long for extract, but it would be a gross injury to offer an abridgement: the reader should study it, and he will learn what will be the value of Christianity to the people of India if they can but be persuaded to adopt it *on conviction*. For many generations they would be better Christians, as a mass, than we, who, blinded by the "mist of familiarity," accept many a sublime maxim in

theory which we ignore in practice. Meanwhile, our own Christianity gains by being constantly maintained in an active and controversial condition, forced to examine into the grounds of our faith, we must, if honest, become either firm believers or sincere sceptics; there can be but little of that worthless conventional religion which, at home, covers so much wickedness with Pharisaic white-wash, and hence it probably results that there is more good-feeling, charity, and freedom from crime among the White population of India than exists, proportionately, among their brethren in England. This may seem a paradoxical assertion; but we appeal to facts. Let any one look at the tales of fraud, barbarity, and lust, with which every HOME NEWS is stored; at the social hauteur, and the neglect of the poor which those who know England know to prevail there. At the case—for instance—of Sarah Dyer, the dress-maker, reduced to shop-lifting, because her well-to-do customers would not pay her bills. We are not free from sin, God knows, but there is no such chronicle sent back by the Homeward Mail, the principal record of the European public being very commonly a handsome subscription-list for some object, Indian or Imperial, of alms, or of hero-worship, of church-building, or of Mission-extension. Where is the case of distress that has been brought in vain before the Indian public, still more constant are the good deeds done in obscurity or in secret, the Dispensary or Relief Society kept up for the poorer natives neglected by their own countrymen; the sums of money lent or forgiven amongst each other, a hospitality ever open, a total freedom from that form of pride which Mr Thackeray has made English by his "Book of Snobs."

Chapter IV. treats of the limits to the authority of society over the individual, and is full of pregnant matter for English readers.

Among the natives of this country the system of caste has so strongly circumscribed the liberty of the individual, and is so cheerfully acquiesced in by those immediately affected, that it hardly seems worth while to point out its inconveniences. But it is curious to observe the apparent anomalies introduced into a system like Mr Mill's by this kind of specialty in Asiatic life, where a man's minutest actions are strictly controlled by the opinion of the only society that is open to him, which possesses more sanctions than Freemasonry without the voluntary character of that institution, (inasmuch as a Hindoo cannot choose whether he will join the caste into which he is born, unless he is prepared to become, literally, an outcast); it may possibly be the duty of the Government to step in to the assistance of the individual, and to protect him, as far as it can, against the oppression of his

relations and friends Accordingly, we hear a good deal about "doing away with caste," and though that is not at present possible, it would be no infraction of liberty. Meanwhile, the State can ignore it far more than is now done So strong is the feeling among the natives that the answer to a question "who are you?" is not, as in Europe, "A B, of such and such a profession," but, "I am a Brahmin, or a Bunya" (or whatever the case may be); and the permanent loss of caste carries with it, according to Indian usage, the loss of property With this latter penalty the Legislature has most righteously interfered; but there would be nothing illiberal in going a step farther; in forbidding public officers to enter caste in descriptive rolls, for instance, or in framing rules for the Native Army, which would require of the sepoys duties which no high caste man could perform without being excommunicated by his brethren. Whether such a course would be expedient, is foreign to the purpose of the present enquiry, which is only concerning liberty, a consideration of the bounds with which an intelligent but foreign despotism ought to content itself in ruling Asiatics. And it is on this ground that thinking men are generally disposed to approve the policy of the Indian Government, for the last twenty or thirty years especially, on the subject of proselytising As members of the community of singularly pure and upright intentions, Missionaries are entitled to all free course in their good work, which is to state opinions and the reasons which recommend them

Mr. Mill applies an ingenious *argumentum ad hominem* by asking how the people of England would like to live in a Mahomedan country where they would not be allowed to eat pork? This is not an imaginary case We are acquainted with several places in British India where, in deference to Hindoo feeling, the slaughter of horned cattle is disallowed, and hence a number of Christians and Mussulmans are debarred from the use of a cheap and nutritious diet And it is a curious fact, that the Parsees of Western India are stated by Mr. Mill to have incorporated into their code an abstinence from both beef and pork, in consequence of the alternate objections of the two dominant races under whom they have been compelled to live.

And this seems the proper place to notice a species of case in which this country abounds, where a strict adherence to political economy may—and often does—interfere with individual liberty. This is caused by the collision between the two opposite states of society, European and Asiatic European public opinion requires that trade should be left entirely free—not on liberal, however, so much as on economical grounds. Thus, for instance, we are told that official influence must not be brought to bear on *prices*, because these will be kept level by competition Thus, during

a time of universal scarcity, when Sir Charles Metcalfe was Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, the Brigadier at Agra reported that the troops were on the verge of mutiny for want of food, of which large stores were known to have been collected by the Bunyas; and requesting permission to open the stores and force a sale at what he considered a fair price Sir C. Metcalfe at once sent back a firm negative; but the Bunyas probably took the hint, for the affair was tided over. But it is forgotten, in such cases, that the grain-dealers of that part of India are all of one caste, a close Guild, which can punish with intolerable severity any infraction of the rules of the body, one of which, we may be sure, is against underselling the rate (or *urik*) fixed by general consent, or by the Panch; but the law cannot punish such a combination, so in an extreme case like that above referred to (competition, the scientific remedy, being barred) the amount of liberty consists in this, that the dealers have the liberty to withhold the necessary food of man, and the public have the liberty to starve. Practically it may be said this is prevented in military cantonments at least by the interference of the Commanding Officer. It may be so, and as far as his own bazar extends, the Commandant is here, in spite of all appearance of arbitrariness, really acting on the side of liberty; that is, he gives the small trader liberty to dispose of his small stock instead of suspending his business at the pleasure of the heads of the Guild, and he gives the consumers—the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants—liberty to get food. But (setting apart that this is done on, at best, a very small scale,) it is objectionable as being illegal, and the real remedy would be to have laws suited to the system which we cannot alter.

So with the trade in land: the usurious and fraudulent dealings of the monied classes, founded on the improvidence and ignorance of the land-owners, and the facility with which they can hypothecate their estates, allows them (the estates) to pass out of their hands into those of the *Surāfs* and *Bunyas*; causing a good land-holder to become a disaffected man and possible criminal, while the land is rack-rented and mismanaged by a sedentary absentee. It is here forgotten that the native powers, from whom we inherited the system of holding zemindars responsible for the management of their estates, did not allow such an office to be marketable and generally transferrable any more than we should that of a tehsildar; and that the interest of the State—i. e. of the public—requires that the powers of an Indian landholder should only be entrusted to those of whose fitness the State is assured. Women may hold them, because they may have efficient agents, and the

respect of the ryots may be theirs from their hereditary right; but what influence can be the Bunya's, who takes the land merely as a commercial investment, and is afraid to visit it, owing to the influence of the old family which makes him a common enemy? What wonder if he acts up to the character, and takes every *pice* he can screw out of the hostile cultivators? What wonder if, in a convulsion like that of 1857, the cultivators rally round the ousted proprietor, burn down the Cutcherry where the transfer is recorded, plunder (perhaps murder) the parvenu, and reinstate their former chief?

The concluding chapter is headed "*Applications*"

It commences with stating the two maxims which form the doctrine of the past portion of the book—these are—

1st—The individual is not accountable for conduct which does not affect the interest of others. Thus, we do not punish the Editor of a newspaper for his opinions, but for propounding them in a malicious manner. (Mr Mill seems to limit, as above noted, this class of responsibility to the case where an overt act follows directly on the publication. But we submit that an article having an inevitable tendency to produce civil war, crime, or deep personal injury to an innocent man, comes under this exception.) So a bankrupt is punished, not for being extravagant, but for injuring his creditors. We shall come to Indian applications presently.

2nd—The individual may be punished, if his conduct affect the interest of others.

This flows from the first, and the same illustrations apply. In page 170 we find a clear admission of the principle of trade above laid down. "The so-called doctrine of free-trade rests on grounds different from, but equally solid with, the principle of individual liberty asserted in this essay." Equally solid, that is, when the conditions of the society with which we have to deal, are the same as those of that in which it originated.

"The restraints in question," proceeds our author, "affect only that part of conduct which society is competent to restrain, and are wrong, solely because they do not really produce the results which it is desired to produce by them."

We have already shown that the conditions under which trade emerged from restraint in England—which may be all summed up in the word "competition"—do not exist in this country. Further, the people would gladly avail themselves of the restraint which would prevent a set of dealers, practically exercising a monopoly, from conspiring to swell their money bags at the price of human life. The restraint on transfer of land would be equally feasible, and would merely resemble the restraint which prevents a patient in a hospital from throwing himself down a well under

the influence of his disease. If the landholder could not pledge to the money-dealer his command over the land, which is, in part, a political function, he would simply be obliged to do without ready money, which might, however, be advanced to him, on reasonable interest, by the State, under the now almost forgotten system of "tuccavee:" that is, where it was really required for agricultural purposes. This is almost treating the landholders as children; but indeed they are not much better.

At page 174 is noticed the question of the sale of poisons, which Mr. Mill is unwilling to curtail, as they may often be wanted for harmless, nay, useful purposes. In this country so strong is the feeling on the subject (though no legislative enactment exists), that the shop-keepers will not sell this class of drugs where there is a probability of its being found out, without an order from the Magistrate.*

The recent legislation on the subject of arms is of this nature. Lethal weapons being supposed to be chiefly useful for bad purposes, it is now penal to possess them, or to manufacture, or deal in them without a license, and licenses are at present very sparingly bestowed. But the evil is, that the more dangerous classes do not give up their arms, which are the tools of their trade, while the rest of the public, whose arms are not dangerous, as long at least as the army is faithful, are left unarmed—an easy prey to the criminals whom our ignominiously useless Police and our ideas of liberty leave free to come and go, and work their wicked will on Society.

The objection to our ideas of liberty is, that they are ideas and not living principles growing out of the constitution of society. From such a phantom proceeds our dislike to a passport system, which, conjoined with a scheme of labor for vagrants, would keep down crime more than any other measure that could be applied to the present state of Indian Society.

So, again, in respect of procuring the victims of prostitution, and of keeping gaming-houses. Both these are in some codes theoretically penal; but modern ideology renders it very difficult to put any real restraint upon them. It is now pretty generally admitted that the three immoralities of drunkenness, fornication, and gambling, if not exclusively reflective or self-regarding, have yet so little direct influence on the happiness of others, that they

* Mr. Mill's remedy is the provision of what Bentham happily calls "pre-appointed evidence." that the druggist, for instance, should be obliged to insist on the presence of a witness when he sells a poisonous drug, that he should affix a conspicuous label to the parcel or bottle, stating that it contains poison, and that he should enter the particulars in a book. We do not see how this is to be done in India, because, for one thing, the *pansaree* is not yet fitted for Magisterial functions, and, for another, that the label, if affixed, would convey no information to people who cannot read.

ought not to be treated by legal penalty, though they are fair and legitimate subjects for social censure: the evils of a severe legislation on such matters having been proved by the experience of centuries to be greater than those which the offences cause when left to private morality and public opinion. But Mr Mill raises the question, whether it can be laid down consistently that, "what the agent is free to do, other persons ought to be equally free to counsel or instigate?"—(page 176) This brings up the questions so often discussed at home of "Maine-Law" and "Social Evils" And in this country opinion and law, as practically enforced, appear to be in a somewhat vague, and, so to speak, empiric condition The *rationale*, on Mr Mill's principles, would be sufficiently obvious, we think, if he himself had not pronounced that "this question is not free from difficulty." "If," he proceeds, "people must be allowed, in whatever concerns themselves, to act as seems best to themselves, at their own peril, they must equally be free to consult with one another about what is fit to be so done, to exchange opinions, and to give and receive suggestions Whatever it is permitted to do, it must be permitted to advise to do" He admits, however, that, if the adviser have a personal interest in advising an immorality, the case becomes doubtful But we cannot help thinking that this admission leads to a simple solution of the difficulty Whoever makes a pursuit or livelihood out of what it is bad for his customers that they should be allowed to do, commits a habitual injury to them It is not disputed that a gamester injures his health of mind or body, and that either his fortune or his honesty must be ultimately lost. The man who profits by keeping a house in which numbers of persons constantly find the means of thus inevitably injuring themselves, is surely responsible for a great part of that injury, and, as such, a fit subject of legal restraint. The real difficulty is in the case of liquor-shops, where the article sold, like the poisons above referred to, is one that may be used for innocent, and even for beneficial purposes And to this we shall revert, in connection with the question of the Abkarry or Indian Excise, when we come to the appropriate portion of Mr Mill's chapter now under review

But not only are gaming-houses fit objects of Indian legislation in regard of the reason above noted, (which applies equally to gaming-houses all over the world,) but there is this special reason that, in this country they form well-known resorts of the idle, the ignorant, and the needy, who are there enabled to concoct schemes of plunder, for which the necessities engendered by gaming form a too certain incentive. They thus combine

the character of a London thieves' public-house with that of a "fence," or receptacle for stolen goods. Mr Mill will not "venture to decide" whether keepers of brothels and "hells" should not at least be compelled to prosecute their callings in obscurity, so that their customers should be only those who are resolved to seek them, not called from multitudes of unwary passers-by, and this may be the proper rule regarding the former of these disreputable haunts, but gaming-houses in India, at least, are fair objects of Police persecution, and their proprietors should be made uncomfortable rather than merely obscure. At present procuration is, perhaps, by Indian Law, theoretically punishable; but the keeping of a brothel is expressly removed from Magisterial interference. Nor does any power exist by which gaming-house keepers can be punished, although a special enactment of 1848 bars the recovery of sums won by wagers.

But the case is different in regard to liquor. Here the Indian Government pursues a consistent and a reasonable course. It requires a revenue from certain articles which, though not altogether noxious, or even perhaps superfluous, are still not absolutely indispensable to human life, and are consumed in smaller quantities and in inferior qualities by the poor than by the rich.

To initiate a crusade against the use of liquor, as some fanatics, both here and at Home, would recommend, is to attempt what would be an absurd cruelty, were it not a troublesome futility. There is not an article of diet which is not liable to abuse, yet who thinks of proscribing *ghee*, because myriads of bunyas and sepoys get dyspepsia and surfet from over-indulgence in that most (to us) unappreciable and marvellous delicacy? It is sometimes unreflectingly argued that the Abkarry tax *increases* the consumption of spirits—a valuable hint for Financiers, were it creditable, that the more impost you lay upon a commodity the more of it will be consumed!

It may be conceded, then, that ardent liquors differ from the means of vice last discussed in this, that they are fit objects of taxation rather than of persecution. But the shops where they are sold are, like brothels and gaming-houses, used as resorts by bad characters. They may be, and often are, so. But, if the wares vended there be not necessarily evil, the action of the Police in their case may stop short at surveillance. For this purpose, no less than for fiscal purposes, some sort of monopoly will be beneficial. In England the shops are licensed, in India they are farmed by a monopolist. Neither plan is an unjustifiable interference with liberty. Least of all is such the case in India. The relation of the parent or teacher to the child necessarily implies a certain restraint on the freedom of the latter;

and something of that relation must always adhere to the sway exercised by a highly civilized race over one which is its inferior in moral and intellectual status. It is the character of our position in India that we treat the natives as wards and pupils.

And this brings us to the vexed question of education, which can never be settled except on the basis of an admitted obligation. It is shown by actual demonstration in the work before us, that the instruction of his offspring is a duty owed by each parent (or at least father) to the society into which he introduces an infant member. Being so, it is the duty of the State to see that it is discharged. But the function of the State ends here. It has been proved already that strength is no test of truth, therefore the State has no right to dictate opinions to its subjects. Moreover, as Mr Mill well puts it, "a general State education is a mere contrivance for moulding people to be exactly like one another," and he has before laid it down that, so far from this being desirable, diversity of individual character, opinion, and conduct is of vital importance to a healthy state of society.

It should therefore be the object of the Department of Public Instruction, primarily, to see that every man either availed himself of the means of education provided by the State, or provided his children with the means of education at his own expense: and all children above ten years old—say—should be subject to a yearly public examination in elementary branches of general knowledge, the parents of those found deficient being punished by fine or labor. The Government should gradually withdraw from the charge of schools and colleges, as they found persons or corporations able and willing to undertake them, until the aid from the State to education should at last be confined to examination, inspection, and grants-in-aid, with perhaps a school or college here and there as a standard or experiment, and for the instruction of teachers.

As a general rule, the State should abstain from the *direction* of education, while vigorously requiring that children should be educated, but where the people cannot, or will not, support proper schools and colleges, there Government may, and should, continue to carry them on as a temporary measure, just as it does a Railway or a Tea Plantation.

It is interesting to observe how the application of Mr Mill's doctrine would solve the long-pending difficulty about the vernacular education of the natives of Bengal. The Court of Directors, and their successors in Leadenhall Street, have always been anxious that grants-in-aid should be exclusively given to colleges and first-class schools. The local authorities have been

unanimous in wishing to see education fostered among a larger class of the community. They wished the elementary schools of the poor to be aided. The Home Government was satisfied that this kind of education could be met by a compulsory cess and a system of indigenous Government schools, as carried out in the North-West Provinces. The Bengal Authorities, partly from their local knowledge of its unpopularity and very limited success, partly perhaps from a glimmering of Statesmanship, protested and recommended a large measure of pecuniary aid to private schools; and the Supreme Council of Calcutta once got so near to the true principles as to recommend an extensive issue of elementary vernacular books, and prizes to be given to those masters of indigenous Schools whose pupils passed the best examination in them. And Mr Halliday* showed good reason why this sort of aided but voluntary education, of which he was an ardent supporter, should not be at first expected to go very low, or spread very wide. We should not expect a demand for instruction on the part of "hewers of wood and drawers of water"—a class not yet reached by the School-master even in England.

This, as a question of practical detail, is also one of time. Perhaps it would be sufficient, at present, to apply Mr Mill's rule to the case of persons entered in the Government rent-roll, who are in some measure Government servants, and in whose intelligence and good behaviour Government has a direct interest.

But there is another duty owed by parents, not only to their children, but to society, on which, if possible, the Legislature should strictly insist. We refer to vaccination. When we reflect on the myriads of human beings who are annually swept off by small-pox in this country, and on the fearfully contagious nature of the pestilence, we cannot feel that we are asking too much in urging on the State to make vaccination, *of all children above six months*, compulsory. True, the people have objections and suspicions, but really if, after the events of '57-58, we are not strong enough to insist on what we know to be right, we have no business to remain where we are. And the *right* cannot be doubted in this matter.

At page 196 we have a valuable statement of the advantages, in a political point of view, of municipal institutions. Nothing is more required in this country—for three objects.

First, to inform us of the wishes, hopes, fears, and opinions of the natives: it is not to be supposed that they will, at first, conform to Parliamentary, or even to vestry-usages; but every

* Quoted in *Friend of India* for January 19, 1860.

wise ruler of a district knows the value of native sentiments as an aid in ruling.

Second, to prepare the people gradually for self-government; this we must, if we are honest, suppose to be one of the ultimate objects of our presence as masters in this country; and the germ of it is already present in the time-honored village-institutions which we found all over India, and which—to our own loss and shame—we alone, of all the successive Lords of India, have partially eradicated.

Third, for taxation. Half the difficulties attending the introduction of new imposts have been met by the rulers of the Punjab, who, unfettered by regulation-law, have consulted native opinion largely, and availed themselves of existing municipal bodies, or created fresh ones for the purpose. To say that this or that tax, though devised by the collective wisdom of the Calcutta Law-givers, must be the pattern for all the nations and languages from Peshawur to Prome, or even from Kumaon to Coromandel, is to start on the enterprise with ensured failure provided beforehand. A tax may be highly productive in Dantzic, which would yield nothing in Florence, and lead to rebellion in Madrid; and yet we know far less of the feelings and peculiarities of the various people who occupy this quasi-continent with which we have to deal on this difficult subject than continental rulers know of their subjects. But the quota for each city or pergunnah once fixed, (and some control perhaps given as to its expenditure,) and the local notables would raise it as easily as they now raise the Chokeydaree tax. We shall soon see local budgets for each Presidency—for Madras, Bombay, Sind, the Punjab, the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Bengal. Each Lieutenant-Governor should, in concert with the chiefs of divisions and districts, fix the amount to be raised for the public works, the Police, and other purely local objects of each division and district; and the amount now spent from imperial revenues on such objects will form so much clear gain to the State, which would then have only the general charges to meet, such as pay of the Army, and interest on public debt.

The constitution of the Civil Service, as it exists at present, renders it doubtful whether the pay of its members would form more correctly a local or a general charge. But which is of far more importance to settle, it is also doubtful how far a body so constituted would work in harmony with municipal institutions. It is, however, known that the Prefects in France have bodies of an elective character united with them in administration; and perhaps the able pen, which recently presented the readers of the

Calcutta Review with so clear a picture of the French Courts, may be led to favor us with an account of the working of the administrative polity of that country. Clearly a country governed by a foreign race, superior in the arts of life to their subjects, cannot cashier its civil officers, and leave almost everything to the localities; but it does not, we confess, appear to us at all chimerical that local bodies might be gradually entrusted with considerable power—for local objects—as long as the Government continued to be represented by an officer of rank and character on the spot. Mr Mill cites the case of the United States as an example of a country where, “let them be left ‘without a government, every body of Americans is able to ‘improvise one, and to carry on that or any other public business ‘with a sufficient amount of intelligence, order, and decision.” Assuredly it is to that pass that we must bring the people of this country if we are to remain here till our work is done; but as certainly will it be a work of time. Meanwhile, there is this farther difficulty noted in the next page (202 *et seq*)—“A ‘Chinese mandarin is as much the tool and creature of a despotism as the humblest cultivator * * * It is not, also, to be ‘forgotten that the absorption of all the principal ability of the ‘country into the governing body is fatal, sooner or later, to the ‘mental activity and progressiveness of *the body itself*. Banded ‘together as they are—working a system which, like all systems, ‘necessarily proceeds in a great measure by fixed rules—the ‘official body are under the constant temptation of sinking into ‘indolent routine; or, if they now and then desert that mill-horse round, of rushing into some half-examined crudity ‘which has struck the fancy of some leading member of the ‘corps.”

The author's India House experience may have helped him here; he has undoubtedly described a state of things not unknown in the civil administration of this country. The creation of a body of public critics and thoughtful men outside the official body would be one result of the introduction of municipal institutions, and would form the best (Mr. Mill thinks the only) check to these tendencies, the best stimulus to keep the ability of the Service in working order, while it ensured a careful testing and weighing of every proposed innovation.

He concludes that centralization should chiefly concern itself with the collection and dissemination of *information*, and of introducing and maintaining method in public business, while *power* should be as widely diffused as was consistent with efficiency. The central authorities should know what was being done, and should give it a uniform tendency; but the local

bodies should be independent as far as circumstances, from time to time, permitted them to be.

In conclusion, we would again observe that we have not presumed to comment on Mr. Mill's doctrine in general, but have contented ourselves with pointing out some of its applications to the affairs of this country. We trust that we have shown three things:—

First, that there is a want in Indian administration of some rule regarding liberty, too much being given or left in some respects, too little in others.

Second, that, admitting the general doctrine of this Prince of living English thinkers, we have such a rule.

Third, that this rule, abstractedly stated, is the same here as elsewhere, *viz* that the individual should have that amount of liberty, *and no more*, that is consistent with the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

Not only, however, have we shown that the result of the application of this rule to Indian affairs will leave the individual (native) less liberty than its application to English affairs, but we have ventured, respectfully, to qualify one or two of the author's applications generally.

Had we not thought a theological discussion foreign to these pages, we might have gone a little further, and questioned the propriety of his remarks on the Christian religion. Not only do we differ from him in his estimate of the completeness of Christian ethics, but we think he has shown a misapprehension of their whole scope, which is to raise a high standard by showing, in the teaching and example of its founder, what is the conduct of a perfect man, so that men may go on indefinitely progressing towards perfection. And, when he says that some of the best men and greatest benefactors of the species have been disbelievers—even antagonists—of Christianity, we think he quite forgets that they have usually had the advantage of being born and bred in Christian societies, and educated—in all probability—by Christian parents and teachers.

But it is a noble book, full of calm but earnest pleading, and well calculated to arrest that progress towards Chinese mediocrity and stagnation which the tyranny of the majority is developing in English and American society. We therefore heartily commend it to the careful attention of all independent minds.

NOTE.—Since this article was begun, and too late to notice it in its proper place, we have received a pamphlet, published at the Louisiana Mission Press, under the title of "*The Freedom of the Press and Biblical Christianity reconsidered, &c*," by a Bible Christian." We would not comment on the general subject—

matter of this tract, which is a learned resumé of the Scriptural arguments in favor of the doctrine of the Trinity; but we cannot help drawing attention to the curious insight it gives into the haze of ideas on the ethics of discussion which exist in the minds of well-educated and well-meaning men. This writer, while making the most of the veil of the anonymous for himself, attacks his opponent Captain Mercer, H. M.'s 94th Foot, by name, with a good deal of satirical personality not very well calculated to promote an unbiased examination of his solemn theme. And on the subject of the freedom of the Press—which has nothing to do, be it said, with his main argument, he expresses himself as follows —“What I understand by the freedom of the Press is, that any person, who chooses and *can do so honestly*, may establish a Press, and publish at that Press, or *refuse to publish* what he thinks proper * * * * * *Slander of private and public character*, I think, should be restrained by severe penalties. Everything *immoral* in its own nature or directly *tending to demoralise* the community * * * should, as far as possible, be under some sort of restraint, or freedom will soon degenerate into licentiousness.”

Brave words, but containing the germ of all the restraints to which discussion was too long subjected. The party which has the power to punish or restrain public writers, always does so on the ground that their productions are “immoral in their nature, or directly tend to demoralise the community,” and we feel pretty sure that, if our “Bible Christian” (such is the title of the pamphleteer) had the power, he would restrain or punish the publisher of Unitarian arguments on this very ground. The proper remedy for writings supposed to contain either slander or immoral views, is to meet them by counter-statements, and overthrow them with sounder reasons. Truth will prevail in the long run, but not by appearing to shun the light or to silence its antagonists by brutal force.

- ART. VII—1. *Minutes of the Calcutta Missionary Conference.* 1855.
2. *Report from the Select Committee on Colonisation and the Settlement of Europeans in India.* 1859.

IN the Select Committee on Colonisation and the Settlement of Europeans in India, that unhappy controversy between Indigo Planters and the Calcutta Missionary Conference has been rescued from the oblivion where, it had been hoped, it was eternally buried. The papers and letters of the clergymen, who took a prominent part in it, have been brought forward to lower the Planters in the estimation of the British public, and to prove that granting facilities which might lead to an augmentation of the number of such settlers would obstruct the executive authorities in the administration of the laws, retard the general prosperity of the country, and injure the condition of the laboring poor. These charges are of a grave character, and, if based on irrefragable evidence, must consign a community, consisting of several thousand individuals, to ignominy and shame. They are advanced by Christian Ministers who could have no other object in view than to do all which lay in their power to deliver their fellow-creatures from what they believed to be oppression, and thus remove one of the great impediments to the work of evangelization, to which they have consecrated their lives, but whether their statements be the result of personal observation and founded on well ascertained facts, or rest on the testimony of others who pay less regard to truth, feel little compunction in swerving from it, and had some powerful inducement to lead them astray, is an inquiry worthy of calm consideration.

Indigo Planters are neither of the lowest nor highest grade of society, though a few, as in other communities, may have been lifted by Providence from circumstances of poverty, and now and then a titled person be found among them, they generally belong to the middle class, which sends forth their countrymen of the medical, legal, and clerical professions, the civil, naval, and military services. They are the sons of traders, merchants, farmers, and manufacturers, lawyers, clergymen, and doctors, officers of the army, navy and civil service. As they are drawn from the same class, and in some instances from the same families, it will be readily admitted they are of equal respectability, and it will likewise be allowed by those who are competent to form a correct judgment that, as a body, owing chiefly to the position they occupy, their knowledge of the language, customs, habits, character and condition of the natives is superior to that of any other Europeans in the country.

Possessing this thorough knowledge, neither ignorance nor prejudice could lead them to adopt a system of oppression in their transactions with the people, and presuming, in the absence of facts to establish the contrary, they have a common degree of humanity, they must feel as little disposed as others to indulge in cruelty. but the uncharitable sometimes insinuate that persons engaged in commerce are strangers to the generous impulses of our nature, and that attention to self-interest is the only commandment deemed obligatory in the code of their laws; yet not a few of our churches, colleges, and schools, hospitals for the sick, and asylums to shelter the poor and forsaken have been reared and endowed by merchants, and to all institutions, which contemplate the advancement of the spiritual or secular good of man, their names stand among the most munificent donors.

In the diversified walks of business, piety of an exalted character has been exhibited that has exerted a power on the world, the effects of which will be felt through the present and a future life, while but few philanthropists have issued from courts and palaces. Admitting, however, that Planters are governed by self-interest, the question then arises, is it peculiar to them? Or, when regulated by justice, is it the evil thing it has been represented? Is it not an affection lodged in the bosom by the Deity himself, and without which human society could not hang together of a day? It is true that, under the influence of this feeling, a man may aim at nothing beyond his personal advancement, and in the strenuous exertions which he makes, have no further object in view than to raise his family to a state of opulence; each person composing the population of a village, city, or empire, may concentrate all his efforts on his own concerns, but what real injury is inflicted? It is from this vast mass of individuals acting separately that the largest amount of well-directed exertion is secured, and that a people are raised to the highest degree of wealth, comfort, felicity, and greatness, for man cannot isolate himself and stop the influence of his actions. When he pleases, good is done that he never contemplated, and interests are promoted on which he never bestowed a thought; because He who framed man and the structure of society, has wisely ordained that the community in which he lives and the nation of which he forms a part shall share in his prosperous fortunes. In the economy of Providence, separate exertions, unperceived it may be by the agents, unite into one harmonious whole, and interests apparently conflicting subserve the common weal. Hence, though men act only from the instincts of nature, the most beneficial results flow from trade and commerce, and when legislators, going beyond their

province, interfere with these instincts, the channels of business become stagnant. If such be the nature and tendency of self-interest to blame a particular community for acting under its influence is to reproach the whole of the human family, for the affection is felt more or less intensely in the breast of every individual. Before condemning the Planters, an equitable and dispassionate person will inquire whether they violate the principles of justice, he will make himself thoroughly acquainted with the subject, that he may duly weigh the respective statements of the contending parties, and test their accuracy, uninfluenced by frothy declamation, he will strive to elicit facts, and on them ground his honest judgment.

It is said the cultivation of indigo is forced, and, though not expressly stated, it is left to be inferred that the plant is an exotic, and has been introduced by British settlers to the great detriment of the country. As far back as the first century of the Christian era it was known as indigenous to India, and the dye extracted from it was then exported to Europe, and formed a lucrative branch of commerce, so that all which our enterprising countrymen did was to enter on a manufacture which, ages before England acquired any of her Eastern possessions, was a source of wealth to the native inhabitants, and to bring to it a degree of energy, and of agricultural, chemical, and mechanical skill which Asiatics have never exhibited. A branch of agriculture or commerce which is forced contains the elements of destruction, and cannot be perpetuated, it is strange then that the cultivating of indigo, which has been pronounced to be compulsory, should have been carried on from time immemorial throughout Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, in Sind, the Punjab, the North-West Provinces, and in the independent, allied, and tributary States. Over an area of a million and four hundred thousand square miles, the inhabitants of which are of different races, religions, and tongues, what power could coerce the people to grow the plant were the application of force needed. To thinking men well acquainted with India, the exercise of tyranny over such a vast territory, for the accomplishment of this particular object, appears to be scarcely possible; yet there are persons who declare this tyranny is in operation, that the cultivation of indigo is analogous to slavery, and for denouncing it liken themselves to the most illustrious friends of humanity, to Sharp, Clarkson, and Wilberforce, names which are uttered with a feeling of sacred pleasure, and which will be embalmed in the grateful affections of Englishmen through every succeeding age. That they are influenced by the best of motives, and solicitous only for the welfare of the peasantry, will be readily admitted by those who know them, but that they are waging

war against what bears affinity to the traffic which disgraced our West Indian possessions may be reasonably doubted. While, however, we think they are mistaken, we honor them for their well-intentioned efforts, and have no sympathy with the cry that, as ministers of religion, they acted out of character in taking a lively interest in the temporal affairs of the poor. This grave accusation was designed to excite the indignation of the public, yet it is quite harmless ; properly understood, the offence committed was simply this, they meddled on the wrong side, the same amount of talent exerted in advocating the cause of their opponents would have drawn forth unmeasured praise. Such clamour, instead of deterring the good and courageous from identifying themselves with the people, is an incentive to persevere in the laudable course upon which they have entered, and to cast to the winds all objections that emanate from grovelling spirits. Sad, indeed, will be the days of the Church, when those who serve at her altars forget the rights of men and the duties of citizens. However, that the cultivation of indigo is little analogous to the slave trade may soon be made apparent. Parliament sanctioned that iniquitous traffic, and framed stringent laws to support it. A large military force was assigned to protect the masters from the vengeance of the captives, but it not unfrequently happened, where British bayonets were too few to maintain tranquillity, that the blacks rose with the fury of demons and massacred the white inhabitants. The Legislature has been antagonistic to the proprietor of indigo-plantations, and made him the victim of several pernicious enactments, and weak-minded officials, who feel aggrieved by his strictly courteous but unobsequious bearing, would deport him to-morrow had they the power, no soldiers or policemen are sent to defend him from outrage ; his house may be 10 or 20 miles distant from the dwelling of the next European, yet he sleeps unguarded, and during summer with doors wide open, and no one goes to murder him, he canters for hours over his estates all alone, not attended by even a groom, yet he is not hooted or shot, but respectful salutations everywhere greet him.

If by forced cultivation be meant the crop is unremuneratory, how is it that natives, not the tenants of Planters, and in no way connected with them, grow indigo on their own account, and bring it to the factory for sale? Would they do this if it were a positive loss or less profitable than other produce? How is it, that, when they purchase estates, they offer as much per beegah for indigo as rice-lands? If they be not blind to their pecuniary interests, a fault with which few persons will charge them, these transactions, which are taking place every day, must be

formed by actual experience to give a reasonable return for the capital invested. That indigo really pays, notwithstanding all which has been said to the contrary, is apparent from the following tabular statement, which is founded on facts elicited from Ryots and Planters at present engaged in the cultivation, and from Natives and Europeans formerly so employed, but who are now pursuing other avocations. As the land-measure is not the same in every part of the country, it would be difficult to comprehend the whole of India in one table, but, however desirable the possession of such a document may be, it is ~~is~~ not indispensable, nor would it make any substantial difference in the calculations which are given, because the returns of the larger beegah, like those of the smaller, bear a relative proportion to the expenditure incurred, and make no intrinsic alteration in the profits of the cultivator. It is important to observe that much land, which is appropriated to the cultivation of indigo, is unfit for the production of rice, so that the question is not exactly a comparison between these two products, but rather this — shall a great extent of country reclaimed from the forest return to its primitive state, and be again resigned to beasts of prey? Shall we thus arrest the progress of civilisation with its numerous train of blessings, and bring back the inertness of a barbarous age? Enlightened philanthropists would deprecate such retrogression, and point to a larger development of the resources of India as one of the best means of further advancing the material prosperity of the people.

We may here remark, that respecting the quantity of land appropriated to indigo much error is abroad. From the statements of some individuals, who have written on the subject, one might be led to infer that this product monopolises the greater part of the country, and that the ryots are precluded from growing any other crops. The quantity of land assigned for indigo is seldom the thirtieth part of the district, and often considerably less. Take for example the country of India, which contains the most flourishing plantations in lower Bengal, the area is 6,926,733 beegahs, and the number appropriated to this product is 250,000, which is less than a twenty-eighth, and of this, the part tilled by the factory-servants, who are paid by the day, and whose interests are in no way affected by the crop, is about a fifth, but in the district of Tirhoot it is more, probably as much as one-half. Even on the most prosperous estates it appears that only a small portion of the land is taken for the plant; that nine beegahs out of every ten are left for other produce. For a confirmation of the truth of this statement reference may be made to the estate of Nischindepoor, in Nuddea,

which will prove that the figures which have been given are substantially correct.—

Villages on the estate	...	467	
Population	...	2,88,000	souls
Area	...	...	9,51,775 beegahs.
Fallow and waste land, with the area of woods, gardens, houses, roads, and pools	...	...	2,20,000 „
Under cultivation	...	...	7,31,775 „
Appropriated to indigo, and culti- vated by ryots	...	...	55,000
Appropriated to indigo, and cultivated by the factory laborers	...	...	12,000
			67,000 * „
Appropriated to other crops	...		6,64,775 beegahs *

From the above, it is very evident that those gentlemen, who assert the whole of every farm, except an insignificant portion, is appropriated to indigo, must have derived their intelligence from persons that were either grossly ignorant of agricultural pursuits, or for the accomplishment of some hidden purpose, deliberately made a false representation of the state of things

It is necessary to bear in mind that wheat, oats, barley, and the mustard-plant are grown with indigo. Natives likewise sow linseed with it, but of this European Planters do not approve, as it is found to injure the indigo. Having made these preliminary observations to enable the reader to understand the tabular statement, we now lay it before him.

* For these and other details the reader is referred to a letter published in the Calcutta *Englishman*, on the 24th of January 1860, by James Forlong, Esquire, Manager of the Nischindipoor estate.

Indigo Cultivation

PER BEGGAH *

No	Crops grown with Indigo	Rent			Seed			Ploughing and Sowing			Weeding			Reaping			Threshing			Total cost of one Crop			Total cost of three Crops			Average cost of a Crop			Average cost of a Crop of Indigo with Wheat.			Average cost of a Crop of Indigo with Oats			Average cost of a Crop of Indigo with Barley		
		Rs	As	P	Rs	As	P	Rs	As	P	Rs	As	P	Rs	As	P	Rs	As	P	Rs	As	P	Rs	As	P	Rs	As	P	Rs	As	P	Rs	As	P			
1	Indigo	1	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	8	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	7	8	0	0	8	0									
2		0	1	0	0	4	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	8	0	2	8	0	0	0	0	0											
3		0	5	0	0	0	4	0	12	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
1		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
3		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
1		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
2		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
3		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
1		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
2		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
3		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
1		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
2		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
3		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
1		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
2		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
3		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
1		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
2		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
3		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
1		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
2		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
3		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
1		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
2		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
3		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
1		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
2		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
3		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
1		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
2		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
3		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
1		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
2		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
3		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
1		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
2		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
3		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
1		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
2		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
3		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
1		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
2		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
3		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
1		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
2		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
3		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
1		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
2		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
3		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
1		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
2		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
3		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
1		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
2		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
3		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
1		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0											
2		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12																			

Indigo Cultivation—Crop.

No.	Crop	Crops grown with Indigo	Bundles per beegah	Bundles per Rupee	Amount	Average	Profit	Mounds per beegah.	Price per mound.	Amount	Average.	Profit	Profit of Indigo, with Wheat.	Profit of Indigo, with Oats.	Profit of Indigo, with Barley	Profit of Indigo, with the Mustard plant
					Rs As P	Rs As P	Rs As P		Rs As P	Rs As P	Rs As P	Rs As P	Rs As P	Rs As P	Rs As P	Rs As P
1	Indigo	.	22	6	4 0 0	3 3 6	0 11 6	8	2 0 0	16 0 0						
2	"	"	18	6	3 0 0			4	2 0 0	8 0 0						
3	"	"	14	6	2 10 8			3	2 0 0	6 0 0	10 0 0	8 6 4				
4	"	Wheat	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
5	"	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
6	"	Oats	.	.	.	.	.	8	1 4 0	10 0 0						
7	"	"	.	.	.	.	.	0	1 4 0	7 8 0	7 1 4	5 7 8				
8	"	Barley	.	.	.	.	.	3	1 4 0	3 12 0						
9	"	"	.	.	.	.	.	8	2 0 0	16 0 0						
10	"	"	.	.	.	.	.	6	2 0 0	12 0 0						
11	"	"	.	.	.	.	.	3	2 0 0	6 0 0	11 5 4	9 11 8				
12	"	Mustard Plant	.	.	.	.	.	3	2 0 0	6 0 0						
13	"	"	.	.	.	.	.	2	2 0 0	4 0 0						
14	"	"	.	.	.	.	.	1	2 0 0	2 0 0	4 0 0	3 6 8	9 1 10	6 3 2	10 7 2	4 1 2

Rice Cultivation

		PER BEGAH.																			
Number.	Product	Rent.		Seed.		Ploughing and Sowing		Harrowing.		Weeding.		Reaping		Threshing.		Cost of a Crop.		Cost of three Crops.		Average Cost.	
		Rs.	As P.	Rs	As P	Rs.	As. P.	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.	Rs As P.	Rs As P.	Rs As. P.	Rs. As P.	Rs. As P.	Rs. As P.	Rs. As P.	Rs. As P.	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.		
1	Rice..	1	0 0	0	12 0	1	4 0	0	4 0	0	9 0	0	8 0	0	4 0	4	9 0				
2	"	0	12 0	0	12 0	1	4 0	0	4 0	0	9 0	0	8 0	0	4 0	4	5 0				
		0	6 0	0	12 0	1	4 0	0	4 0	0	9 0	0	8 0	0	4 0	3	15 0	12	14 0	4	4 8

Rice Cultivation—Crop.

Produce	Maunds per Beegah		Average	Rice per Maund.		Amount	Profit.
	Mds	Seers.	Mds. Seers.	Rs	As P	Rs. As. P	Rs As P
1 Rice.....	8	10					
	6	24					
	5	20	6 28	1 12	0	11 11 6	6 6 10

The quantity of Indigo exported from Calcutta, in the official year 1858-59 was 83,577 $\frac{1}{4}$ maunds,* which realised £13,34,251-10-0 †

* A maund is 80 pounds.

† Vide *Bonnaud's Commercial Annual* for 1857-58 and 1858-59, page 35.

The following table shows the quantity annually exported for forty years, and the respective prices at which it sold —

Crops of Indigo in Bengal, Imports, Deliveries, Stocks, and Prices in London, 1811—51

Crops in Bengal		Years	Total Imports from India into Great Britain	Total deliveries for Export and Home Consumption	Stock in Great Britain, 31st of December	Years	AVERAGE PRICES IN LONDON								
							Fine Bengal, ₹ lb			Ordinary Bengal, ₹ lb			Low Oude, ₹ lb		
Years	Maunds	Chests	Chests	Chests	Chests		₹ d s	₹ d s	₹ d s	₹ d s	₹ d s	₹ d s	₹ d s	₹ d s	₹ d s
1811 12	70000	= 19500	1812 17200	14600	29500	1812	8 0@	10 6	4 0@	5 3	3 0@	3 6			
1812 13	78000	= 22000	1813 14800	19800	24500	1813	10 0	14 0	6 3	8 3	4 6	6 0			
1813 14	74500	= 21300	1814 24200	29800	24900	1814	10 0	14 6	6 6	9 0	4 0	5 6			
1814 15	102500	= 27000	1815 28900	23400	20400	1815	8 0	11 0	5 0	7 0	3 0	4 6			
1815 16	115000	= 29000	1816 15500	20200	25700	1816	6 6	10 0	3 9	5 6	2 8	3 3			
1816 17	87000	= 23500	1817 13500	15700	23500	1817	7 8	10 0	5 6	7 6	4 0	6 0			
1817 18	72800	= 19000	1818 16600	16100	24000	1818	8 0	9 6	6 6	8 0	5 0	6 0			
1818 19	68000	= 17000	1819 11500	15800	19700	1819	7 6	9 0	5 0	6 0	3 3	4 3			
1819 20	72000	= 19000	1820 16600	21600	14500	1820	7 0	9 0	5 6	6 6	3 3	4 6			
1820 21	107000	= 25000	1821 18000	17300	9800	1821	7 6	9 6	5 6	7 0	4 0	5 9			
Total	846800	= 222300	171200	187800	216500	avg	8 0@	10 8	5 4@	7 0	3 8@	4 11			
1821 22	72400	= 19500	1822 13500	15100	8200	1822	11 0@	12 6	8 6@	10 3	4 9@	6 0			
1822 23	90000	= 24000	1823 21700	18800	13100	1823	9 6	11 0	5 9	8 6	3 6	4 6			
1823 24	113000	= 28000	1824 16300	17200	12200	1824	12 0	13 6	8 0	10 6	5 0	6 3			
1824 25	79000	= 22000	1825 25800	21100	16400	1825	13 0	15 0	8 6	10 6	4 8	5 9			
1825 26	144000	= 41000	1826 27800	21900	22300	1826	8 0	9 6	4 6	7 0	2 3	3 9			
1826 27	90000	= 25000	1827 19000	18500	22800	1827	11 6	13 6	7 0	9 6	3 0	4 6			
1827 28	149000	= 42000	1828 35820	27500	31100	1828	8 0	10 0	5 3	7 3	2 0	2 9			
1828 29	98000	= 26000	1829 23200	23100	31200	1829	7 6	8 6	3 9	6 6	2 6	3 6			
1829 30	141000	= 40000	1830 32120	25700	37600	1830	6 6	7 6	3 3	4 6	2 0	2 6			
1830 31	116000	= 33600	1831 23330	24980	36070	1831	6 0	6 6	3 0	4 3	2 0	2 6			
Total	1092400	= 301100	238070	211880	230870	avg	9 0@	10 9	5 9@	7 10	3 1@	4 2			
1831 32	122000	= 35000	1832 25470	28920	32520	1832	5 6@	6 38	3 3@	4 62	3 6@	2 9			
1832 33	122000	= 35000	1833 25000	23000	36000	1833	7 0	7 95	0 6	0 3	0 4	0			
1833 34	93000	= 26800	1834 16100	22700	29400	1834	7 0	7 95	8 6	0 3	3 4	3			
1834 35	106000	= 30000	1835 16370	24300	21500	1835	6 6	7 34	6 5	3 2	11	3 9			
1835 36	110000	= 31000	1836 25600	24340	22800	1836	7 6	8 35	0 6	0 3	3 4	0			
1836 37	110000	= 31000	1837 25000	21700	26100	1837	8 0	8 65	6 6	9 3	6 4	6			
1837 38	112500	= 32000	1838 24800	20600	21500	1838	9 0	9 50	3 7	6 4	0 5	0			
1838 39	80500	= 24700	1839 18800	24400	15900	1839	8 9	9 35	9 7	0 3	6 4	6			
1839 40	119900	= 32100	1840 28800	27200	17800	1840	8 6	9 05	0 6	4 2	6 3	6			
1840 41	121700	= 33600	1841 28000	28300	17300	1841	6 9	7 63	3 4	6 2	2 2	9			
Total	1106600	= 311200	234540	234460	240820	avg	7 5@	8 1	4 10@	5 11	3 0@	3 10			
1841 42	162000	= 44700	1842 34400	30100	22100	1842	7 6@	8 6	7 0@	6 3	3 6@	4 3			
1842 43	70000	= 21792	1843 21847	22954	21781	1843	6 0	6							
1843 44	172000	= 47448	1844 36600	32203	25975	1844	4 10								
1844 45	14300	= 39448	1845 36132	29928	33507	1845	5 3								
1845 46	128000	= 35810	1846 27174	28441	33181	1846	5 2								
1846 47	101000	= 27862	1847 29766	30992	31902	1847	4 4								
1847 48	108000	= 29798	1848 24086	27553	28962	1848	4								
1848 49	126000	= 34758	1849 33079	32772	29046	1849	1 6								
1849 50	122000	= 33656	1850 26206	28690	27205	1850	6 3								
1850 51	110000	= 30344	1851 31193	29220	30358	1851	5 3								
Total	1251000	= 345110	300110	292308	284007	avg	5 4@	6 4							

Not possessing the commercial statistics of Madras and Bombay, we can state nothing with certainty respecting the shipments from those ports

As it has already been shown that the cultivation of indigo is beneficial to the hut as well as the factory, and not necessarily connected with oppression, these annual returns may be contemplated as the results of a laudable enterprise which promotes the well-being of the peasantry. In addition to the making of indigo, many Planters are extensively engaged in the manufacturing of silk and jute, and are large landed proprietors. By capital, skill, and energy thus employed, they accelerate the progress of agriculture and commerce, and in this way do more than any other class of persons, whether Asiatics or Europeans, to better the circumstances of the industrious poor, and therefore deserve an exalted place among the benefactors of India, and this place men well qualified to appreciate their labors have already assigned them. Lord William Bentinck, an eminent statesman, and the ablest of Governors-General, wrote in a Despatch to the Court of Directors that they had greatly contributed to the progress of civilisation, the development of the resources of the country, and the prosperity of its inhabitants, and on these grounds urged it would be wise policy to afford Europeans every facility and encouragement to settle in India. Baboo Dwarkanath Thakoor, an influential gentleman, a wealthy merchant, and the possessor of extensive landed property, said, that the system of planting then carried on, which is the same that is now at work, had enhanced the value of his estates, and benefited his tenantry. Raja Rammohun Roy, a distinguished scholar, master of almost every branch of Eastern and Western learning, and whose character was in harmony with the greatness of his mind, spoke of them in the following language — "As to the Indigo Planters, I beg to observe ' that I have travelled through several districts in Bengal and ' Behar, and I found the natives residing in the neighborhood of ' indigo-plantations evidently better clothed and better conditioned than those who lived at a distance from such stations. ' There may be more partial injury done by the Indigo Planters, ' but, on the whole, they have performed more good to the generality of the natives of this country than any other class of ' Europeans, whether in or out of the service.'"

During the administration of the Marquis of Dalhousie, the Judges of the chief Civil and Criminal Court were commissioned to make tours of inspection through the whole

* Papers relating to the settlement of Europeans in India, the result of an inquiry by the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, page 177.

of Bengal, and Mr Welby Jackson, who visited several countries, thus reported in reference to the subject under consideration:—"Improvements in agriculture have been effected by the under-tenants, the putneedars; farmers, who, mostly with borrowed capital, have carried the cultivation of indigo, silk, sugar, and other valuable productions to an extent which they never reached at any anterior period; the example has been set, and the way opened, by the Indigo Planters, mostly Englishmen, who, by their energy and assiduity, by forcing their way through difficulties and opposition, have formed themselves into a class of great wealth and influence; necessarily coming into direct collision with the comparatively inert zemindars, and in many instances ousting and supplanting them in their zemindaries; and even, when this has not taken place, rendering themselves formidable rivals. It is singular enough that men without capital,* strangers and aliens both in race and habits, should thus have been able, by their indomitable energy and perseverance, to compete successfully with a wealthy class of men, created and established by the State itself, and firmly rooted in the country, with all the support of that wealth, influence, and the favor of their countrymen and of the State could give them. The example of the Planters has been followed by the more enterprising among the natives, and it is to these men of enterprise, who have commenced and will continue the move forwards, that the country is indebted for improvements; and it is to them, the men of enterprise and action, that the State must look for further progress in the same direction."

It is sometimes affirmed that the rate at which the European lets his land, compared with that at which Mahomedan and Hindu proprietors lease theirs, is high, and must therefore be a great hardship. This assertion is founded neither on real nor apparent truth, and no individuals, possessing a correct knowledge of the condition and sentiments of the ryots, would either make or believe it. The rent realised by the native is, generally speaking, equal to that collected by the European, while the amount gathered in the shape of dues to defray the expense of pujas, feasts, weddings, funeral obseques, litigation, and a hundred other things, not unfrequently makes it from twenty to fifty per cent larger. These dues may be designated free-will offerings, but they are gratuities in the same sense as the benevolences exacted by the former sovereigns of England, for whoever refuses them is punished either in his property or person.

* The statement that Indigo Planters are men without capital is erroneous, for in land, and indigo, and silk factories they have invested several millions.

The tenants of Indigo Planters are said, from being long accustomed to the yoke, to be too broken in spirit to offer resistance and effect their own deliverance; but whatever objections Bengalees may have to fight, they have none to run from danger. To avoid ill usage, the payment of arrears of rent, or of debts due to their neighbors, they depart under the cover of night to the estate of some distant proprietor, whom they persuade to lease them land, and lend them money to build a house. Such pecuniary grants are readily made, for nearly everywhere an increased number of cultivators is required, and each additional beegah brought under the plough is so much gain to the owner. Perhaps it will be asked if such emigrations from the property of Europeans are more numerous than those which are made from that of Hindus and Mahomedans. We think it is highly probable they are considerably fewer; because, judging from the condition of the people on several thousand estates that have come under our notice during a protracted residence of nearly quarter of a century, we are disposed to draw the following inference, that most of the tenants of British settlers are in better circumstances, better housed, fed, and clad than those of native landlords, and, consequently, have less cause to abandon their homes. There are, it is true, Hindus and Mahomedans who, as landlords, are all that could be wished, but they are few in number, and form an honorable exception to the rest of their countrymen.

That, generally speaking, Planters are just and considerate to their workmen is evident from the multitudes of hill-people that come to them to be employed. Many thousands descend to the plains for this purpose, some of them travelling as great a distance as 200 miles. The manufacturing being over, they go back to their native land, and return as the indigo season approaches, when they may be seen in all directions crossing the country in groups to the estates of their respective masters, and, if you enter into conversation with them, they will perhaps tell you that they have done this ten or twenty years, and that their fathers worked at the same factories to which they are wending their way. As ill usage and ill pay would not bring them from their mountain homes, it is reasonable to suppose they are well treated, and obtain wages equivalent to their toil. And is it likely that Planters are less just and considerate to their tenants, whose interests are more immediately connected with their own, and on whose good-will they so much depend for the profitable working of their capital? The system of advances which prevails in every department of business, places the Planter to a certain extent in the power of the ryots, and as they are not all honest, it sometimes requires the greatest

vigilance to prevent them from secretly reaping and selling the crop, for which, in whole or part, he has already paid, and if in stopping such fraud physical force be used, which is rarely the case, the blame must rather rest on the thieves than on him they resolved to plunder. No selfish inducement can prompt the Planter to commit acts of oppression; his interest lies in an opposite direction, in being upright, straightforward, and kind in his dealings, for a different course would lead the cultivators to abscond, and reduce the estates which he has purchased, or farms, to a wilderness.

On careful inquiry, it will be found that the sufferings which the ryots endure come from their own country-men, and are inflicted without the orders or even knowledge of the Planter. At some factories the agents take more or less from every rupee which passes through their hands, make a false measurement of the land, and under-value the produce, use indeed their utmost endeavors to rob both their master and his tenantry. Were, however, this pillage confined to the estates of Planters, it would be a reproach, proving them to be greatly wanting in circumspection and vigilance, but in every department of business, in silk-factories, sugar-mills, mercantile and governmental offices, and more or less in private households, dishonesty and lying are daily practised by servants, nor is there probably one person of property in the whole of India, whose experience does not confirm the truth of the above statement. Indeed, everywhere the astonishing fact presents itself of men being large proprietors, who were the underlings of native landlords, on wages of six or eight rupees a month, who, by a prosperous course of villany, reduced their masters to beggary, and then purchased their estates with the proceeds of iniquity.

It is urged, as a grave charge, against the Planters, that they take the law into their own hands, hold courts on their estates, and preside in them as Judges. This statement is true, and has excited much indignation. Landlords and all persons of property in India have similar courts. Gentlemen who form their opinion of foreign climes by the condition of England, where every one is surrounded with the safeguards of law, and secured from the least molestation, are exceedingly jealous of encroachments on the executive powers of Government, and denounce those that make them as oppressors and tyrants, wretches who pollute the atmosphere of liberty, and are unworthy to live. The new-comer, on his arrival in India, if he hear the statement for the first time, does so with equal surprise, and gives utterance to his displeasure in the strongest language. Such feelings are an honor to our country-men, and may they ever glow in their bosoms, whether at home or abroad, may they continue to take the same

interest in the welfare of their species, and, like their fathers, be the champions of freedom. Instead, then, of deprecating the expression of sentiments which contributed to the greatness and prosperity of nations, and shed a lustre on the characters of individuals, it will be wiser to point out the mistakes into which our country-men fall, owing to the distant position they occupy, and the want of precise intelligence which lead them to see things indistinctly, as objects are beheld in a fog. If persons who have not travelled, or done so without an increase of knowledge, thus persist in forming their judgment of the affairs of other countries by those of their native land, let them go back from the present auspicious reign to periods in our history, when Statesmen gave more attention to the collection of revenue than the administration of justice, when the courts of law were corrupt, and the executive authorities being dishonest, ignorant, indolent, or overworked, the people were left in a great measure to take care of themselves, then they will obtain a clearer view of the condition of our eastern empire, and be less surprised at the course which the Planters have adopted. That Indian Statesmen pay more attention to the collection of revenue than the administration of justice, is freely admitted by themselves, recorded without reserve, in books published by Government servants, and confirmed by the experience of every day. If a civilian be found to possess not sufficient ability or aptitude to gather taxes, he is not dismissed, as would be the case were he employed by a parish as collector of the poor rates, but, like an imbecile cabinet-minister who is got out of the way by being removed to the House of Lords, he is raised to the bench. Thus an office, for which accurate, varied, and extensive knowledge, diligence and long continued labor, a calm and far reaching mind, and every attribute of moral worth are requisite to discharge its duties aright, is made the Coventry and penal settlement of the service.*

* G Campbell, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service, in his *Modern India*, says — "When a Collector is old enough, he is made a Judge; and to this step there is almost no exception, if it is wished for. It seems to be considered that, if at this time of life a man is fit for any thing at all, he is fit for a Judge, and if he is fit for nothing, better make him a Judge and get rid of him; for once in that office he has no claim to further promotion by mere seniority alone. The judicial department being in a less satisfactory state than any other, is less sought after, and, the ill effects of mismanagement being less immediately startling, the principle that (in a choice of evils) any man will do for a Judge, seems to have become established. Some who mismanage their districts are said to be promoted to be Judges against their will."—page 276

William Taylor, Esq., who, during the rebellion, is believed to have saved several counties, for being wiser and more active than his masters, fell under their displeasure, and was degraded from the office of commissioner at Patna to that of Judge of Mymensing. A Commissioner was recently reduced to a Judgeship for a breach of etiquette in the camp of the Governor-General. This is a singular way of teaching the lessons of Chesterfield, and must add new lustre to the Viceroy's name.

The newly created peer may pass the remainder of his days, as far as the nation is concerned, without doing either good or evil, but the career of the unqualified Indian Judge cannot be innoxious. As the highest authority in the country, the most important cases are brought before him, and appeals from the lower courts of frequent occurrence. With little knowledge of the law, and less perhaps of the language in which it is administered, he feels embarrassed and tempted to leave the judgments to be formed by native subordinates, who pronounce in favor of the party offering the largest bribe. There are, it is true, well-qualified persons on the bench, who efficiently discharge their duties, but when these individuals, possessing great minds and great work, are placed on a level, both as to rank and emoluments, with imbeciles, Indian Statesmen have done all they can to degrade the office of Judge in the estimation of the service, and in that of the public at large.

As the Government has made no better provision for the due administration of the laws, courts have been established on the estates of Indigo Planters. The cases which are tried are such as defamation, assault, family quarrels, trespass, pounding of cattle, non-fulfilment of contracts, claims of creditors, disputes about bequeathed property, boundary question, and perhaps a hundred other things. The erection of these irregular tribunals may be a matter of regret, but can scarcely be one of surprise. What then is their real character? Are they hated and shunned as engines of oppression? No, the people approach them with confidence, relate their grievances, and find justice purely, speedily, and gratuitously administered. The Planter presides as arbitrator, receives the testimony of witnesses from their own lips, without the intervention of a third party, and knowing well the characters of the respective persons that come before him, generally arrives at a right decision, in which both plaintiff and defendant readily acquiesce, for he exercises among his tenantry not only the authority of a master, but the kindness of a friend. To him they repair for counsels respecting their domestic affairs, for protection from the cruelties and exactions of the police, for medical aid when sick, for loans to enlarge their farms, meet a pressing demand, or accomplish any other reasonable purpose, and they are obtained without interest, while their own countrymen would charge them from twenty to fifty per cent. Is a reservoir to be made for the benefit of a village, to which undertaking the funds of the inhabitants prove inadequate, his purse is open to furnish the requisite help. Indeed, in all business of importance about which difficulties arise, as to the means or manner of doing it, they not unfrequently close their deliberations

in language similar to the following :—"Come, let us go to the Sahab and ask his advice."

Probably the inquiry will be made, is this descriptive of all Planters? And in answer to the question, it may be said, it is descriptive of them as a body; that there may be, as in other communities, an overbearing and unjust person found among them is not denied; but what then, is the body to be blamed for the offence of a single member? This is not the way we judge other people. If an individual engaged in commerce become insolvent by disreputable transactions, still British merchants are regarded as men of probity, and honored in every part of the globe; if an editor be unprincipled and scurrilous, and act as a firebrand in society, still an unfettered press is read as the living history of the day, and respected as one of the bulwarks of freedom; if a Christian Minister dishonor God, yet, on that account, bad as the world is, it does not reproach the whole of the clergy, but gives them credit for being a worthy class of men. Why then should a different kind of justice be meted out to Indigo Planters, and the community be condemned for the faults of the individual? This is not doing as we would be done by, but reading the golden rule backwards.

Then, can it astonish us, that the Planters deeply feel the wrong which has been done them? To be accused almost indiscriminately of breaking every commandment of the Decalogue was enough to disturb their equanimity, and, if in repelling sweeping and confounded charges, they used, in the anger of the moment, language of a somewhat intemperate character, a large portion of the blame must rest on those who gave the provocation. They have been declared to be more cruel than Santal rebels, who slaughtered men, women, and children, and, dancing with fiendish hilarity, kicked about the severed limbs and heads of their innocent victims, described as persons who have cast religion and its sacred obligations behind them, and as little better than the pagans among whom they dwell; compared to Moss-troopers, Rob-Roys, and those renowned foresters, Robin Hood, Little John, and Will Scarlet. Against their affinity in blood, or likeness in deeds to those heroes whose inglorious but wonderful achievements are the delight of boyhood, every unbreeched urchin will warmly protest. They are sedate gentlemen, with the manners, education, and principles of the nineteenth century, that live in the enjoyment of all the quiet and happiness of domestic life, whose families present as near a resemblance as is to be seen in this land of exile, to English homes. Christian schools, few and far between, it must be acknowledged, for the instruction of the

Heathen, are established on their plantations, and to appeals for pecuniary help, whatever may be the quarter from which they come, and the object for which the aid is sought, they respond in a generous manner, their liberality is proverbial; most, as far as they themselves are concerned, refrain from business on the Sabbath; others have divine service, worship the God of their fathers, and teach their children to fear the Lord. Owing to the great distance at which they generally reside from the house of God, they have seldom the opportunity of being present, but when located in stations where the means of grace are accessible, they attend in as large numbers as other Englishmen. It is true, even when thus favorably situated, that some are quite indifferent to sacred things, but while the conduct of these individuals is deplored and condemned, it must be borne in mind that it is not without example in other sections of the European community, for though, in a religious point of view, Indian Society has greatly improved, there are yet more than a few in our towns and cities who never enter the sanctuary, except on the occasion of weddings and christenings; and others who, though they may attend as a matter of ceremony the funeral of a departed relation or friend, and hear the solemn service for the dead, have not seen the inside of a Church for years.

However, at a certain period, the Sabbath is generally desecrated, if not personally, by proxy. In the indigo-season the manufacturing is continued on Sunday, if not by the Planters, by their native workmen, which, as far as morality is concerned, makes no essential difference. This is done under the impression that it cannot be avoided. Deeds of mercy and necessity on the day of rest are allowable; but the making of indigo cannot be said to be of the character of the former, nor can we, after calm and protracted consideration, pronounce it to be of the latter. Many difficulties may attend the relinquishment of the practice, but they were known to the Deity when the Sabbath was instituted. The past, the present, and future are ever before him, and nothing can arise in his vast dominions which is new to him; of the thoughts, feelings, situation and circumstances of every individual he has a minute and perfect knowledge. As benevolent as wise, he has framed no law to which obedience is impossible, and has withheld a dispensation from Planters because he deemed their difficulties, though great, not insurmountable. Let them manfully resolve to do what conscience tells them to be right, and they will find in this, as in a thousand instances before, that "where there is a will there is a way." The above observations apply with equal force to the manufacturing of silk, in which the same transgression, by deputy

is nearly everywhere prevalent. We know only one gentleman who stops his factories on Sunday, but there may be others of a kindred spirit. For such general profanation in this department of business no reasons are assigned, except those of a monetary nature ; but whether in the acquisition of wealth the ordinances of Heaven should be cast into the shade is a question which deserves to be pondered.

While adverting to this painful subject, it may be proper to notice a kind of desecration in which proxies are dispensed with. It does not frequently occur, but nevertheless it sometimes happens that on the sacred day a few Planters go with gentlemen of the Civil and Military Service to shoot ordinary game, or hunt the tiger, bear, or boar. They are generally young men. This reference to the matter may perhaps create on the countenances of some of them a smile indicative of displeasure or scorn, but awaken in the bosoms of the more intelligent, not yet hardened in sin, the better feelings of their nature, and recall scenes and days which a foreign clime, with all its allurements, cannot blot out of the book of memory ; times when the best of counsel was given them with a warmth of affection which none but parents can feel, Sabbaths when with those who are dear to them they walked over the green fields of England, summoned by the church-going bell, and beheld, as they proceeded along, groups of worshippers wending their way to the sanctuary over the hill through the wood and dale, with whom they listened to the ministry of the Word, raised the song of praise, and bowed in supplication at the Eternal Throne. We would fain hope that these reminiscences of home, of a happy portion of life spent in conformity to the requirements of religion may lead them to abandon whatever is opposed to its precepts. The foregoing animadversions have been dictated by feelings which, as far as we know ourselves, contain no asperity, and we trust our countrymen will receive them in the friendly spirit in which they are made, and give us credit for wishing them well, not only in this fleeting state of existence, but when earthly things shall fade from their vision.

Evils do exist which press with an almost overwhelming weight on the inhabitants of the interior counties of the respective provinces of India, that they have not been traced to the sources from which they emanate, but attributed to the real benefactors of the country is much to be deplored. This has been done by writers who are incapable of deliberate acts of injustice, and must therefore have arisen from imperfect knowledge, which, had it conducted to other than erroneous conclusions, would have been little less than miraculous. A

few of those evils we shall proceed to notice, but having written at much greater length than we intended, our observations will be made with all possible brevity.

The wrongs inflicted on the people by many of the police, for it would be unjust to include all, are universally admitted to be great. Instead of being guardians of the peace, and exerting themselves to ensure obedience to the laws, and the protection of life and property, when a crime is reported, they hasten to the scene of its commission, not to detect the culprit and bring him to justice, but to see how much profit can be derived from it. Their usual course is to get up charges against the most respectable persons of the place, who, though conscious of innocence, and that no one believes in their guilt, rather than be put to further annoyance, pay the hush-money which is demanded. They levy contributions on the whole village, and if resistance be offered, employ threats and sometimes torture of the most revolting character, receive tribute from professional thieves for permission to pursue their calling without molestation, and occasionally are the perpetrators of crime themselves. For a pecuniary consideration they can be induced to screen larceny, burglary, highway robbery, river-piracy, cattle-lifting, incendiarism, rape, murder, and every other kind of wickedness. With them, as in the Popish catalogue of indulgences, every sin has its price, and the privilege of taking the life of a fellow-creature may be bought for a few pounds.

From the constables, the lowest grade of civil functionaries, we pass over the intervening classes, and ascend at once to the covenanted branch of the service. Let it, however, be premised, that of pecuniary corruption we have not the most distant thought of accusing its officers, in their integrity they will sustain the honor of England, and on this account are a body of gentlemen of whom their countrymen feel proud. The Civil Service, from its constitution, however, is ill adapted to form a large number of efficient officers. When men rise, not by their intellectual and practical fitness, but by the length of their days, it has a tendency to repress their efforts and dwarf their minds. As a close corporation they have narrow interests, are strangers to the healthful influences of emulation, and feel more or less indifferent to the welfare of the country that pays their pittance salaries. It may be freely admitted that great scholars, eminent administrators, and statesmen of the highest order have belonged to their ranks who have been honored by the whole civilized world, and whose memories will continue to be revered till wisdom, energy and virtue are condemned, but most of these illustrious individuals have acquired fame in departing from prescribed forms, and acting according to the noble suggestions

of their own minds. And it has frequently happened that their superiors, instead of possessing sufficient capacity to appreciate their measures, have written wrathful minutes against them, so that the few who have become great have generally done so in the face of opposing influences to keep them down. We have no intention of blaming individuals, the object in view is to show the results of a system which is radically defective, and which no change of agents can remedy. The Civilians act in the same way, and exhibit the same variety of character as other persons would do if placed in their position. Some thoroughly qualify themselves for their duties, punctually and efficiently perform them, and are the hardest working men in the world; others possessed of equal abilities, are less conscientious, they cannot command sufficient leisure for field sports and other amusements without encroaching on days of business, and putting suitors, witnesses, and pleaders to great expense by being obliged to wait at Court during the period of their absence, yet there are at least fifty days in the year, exclusive of the Christian Sabbath, on which the courts are legally closed, not too few one would think to be devoted to such occupations*. Exercise of a manly character contributes to the health both of body and mind, and, instead of unfitting for work, has a widely different tendency, and as it is not opposed to the letter or spirit of religion, it is unadvisable it should be abandoned, and Europeans be made effeminate; but for every proper thing under the sun there is a season, and out of that season it may cease to be right, and become a crime. These gentlemen should remember that the service has its obligations as well as its emoluments, and if they have no disposition to discharge the former, they should have common honesty enough to decline the latter. There are other Civilians, but few, however, in number, who neither understand the laws nor the language in which they are administered. These are as helpless as a child in a go-cart they can move only when pushed by minions of the Court, and that is generally in a wrong direction. The advent of such a Judge, Collector, or Magistrate is welcomed by native officials with the joy that farmers exhibit on the occurrence of a plentiful harvest.

Committing the interests, property, and lives of a people to such functionaries is a mockery, and furnishes a strong reason for the establishment of irregular courts by Planters, landed proprietors, and other capitalists. No improvement in the administration of justice can be effected till the service is weeded

* The Hindu holidays are 36, and the Mahomedan 47, but the treasuries, collectorates, and police courts do not obtain all of them. The Christian holidays, exclusive of the Sabbath, are 4

of its indolent and inefficient members, and thrown open to men of talent and character. Well-qualified Europeans and East Indians are sufficiently numerous to fill every vacancy that might be made; indeed they occupy at present positions of great responsibility, are the life and soul of many Governmental offices, and the only difference between them and the privileged class is in rank and emoluments. Among suitable persons for the highest posts we have omitted natives. This is not an inadvertency. We cannot be blind to the fact that a native, equal in mental acquirements to a European, is still in moral worth a widely different being. If not pious, in the scriptural meaning of the word, the indirect influences of Christianity having been interwoven with his education, with all the scenes, associations, and aspirations of life, generally produce in the European a sense of honor, which is almost equal in its practical efficacy to the power of religious principle, and makes him superior to what is dirty, mean, or sordid. On the contrary, the dominion, for centuries, of a superstition which embodies all that is evil in the department of morals has greatly deteriorated the character of its votaries, and conducted them to pre-eminence in those respective vices which distinguished the Pagans of ancient Greece and Rome. Similar causes produce similar effects in all countries and ages. To argue from the common origin of men, their moral equality, is to lose sight of those influences, circumstances, and events which contribute to the formation of character, it is to shut our eyes to the pious and impious examples living and moving around us, and to question the facts of history, both profane and sacred, for while the inspired writers declare that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth," they nowhere say explicitly or even by implication that this common origin would secure moral equality, but delineate with much precision the varied characteristics of men. If, as is to be hoped, some Hindus and Mahomedans are in advance of their countrymen, and quite incorruptible, let every facility be afforded them to rise to the highest offices, but let those who are yet too weak in virtue to resist gold, be employed, if their services cannot be dispensed with, where pecuniary temptations will not assail them. If the servants of the State be not distinguished for probity as well as ability, we shall never rule India for the permanent good of the people—the grand design of Government; and, consequently, be unworthy to retain it.

Having thus noticed a few of the evils arising from the constitution of the Governmental service, we shall briefly advert to the iniquities of the courts over which its officers preside, which, were there no other reasons, will account for the existence

of those institutions that Planters and all men of property have formed on their estates. The courts, instead of being regarded with confidence and respect, are held in the lowest estimation, and at this there can be little surprise; for, notwithstanding the existence of some excellent laws and real solicitude about the welfare of the people which has been exhibited by many in high places, the administration of justice has been for a hundred years a disgrace to the British name, and the opprobrium appears to increase with the progress of time. Whatever may be the theoretical merits of the courts, and however favorable in their practical working to the rich, they have inflicted an amount of evil on the poor, which has done much to estrange their affections, and made them weary of our rule. For the protection of life and property, and the maintenance of social and civil rights, they have signally failed. They possess every thing to repel the respectable and honest, and present a stage on which the unscrupulous, vindictive, and base may, with impunity, asperse and injure the innocent, ruin rivals, destroy foes, and accomplish every dark, treacherous, and diabolical scheme which the most villainous minds can frame. Constables, though unauthorized to administer an oath, really exercise magisterial functions, for they have power to receive confessions, and take depositions, which is productive of great mischief, for a pecuniary consideration evidence is often perverted, and persons under accusation are sometimes subjected to torture to extract a true or false statement just as the interests of the inflictors or of those who have paid them may require, so that many cases are in a measure pre-judged before they are submitted to the bench.* The tax enforced by Government in the shape of stamps, and the bribes and dues extorted by the highest native official to the porter at the gate, virtually close the courts against all, excepting the wealthy classes. The few peasants that resort to them generally remember the event with sorrow to the end of life, for, should they be fortunate enough to gain their case, the expense incurred by the distance travelled, which may be 10 or as much as 40 miles, the time occupied in the suit, which may be days, weeks, or months, and the injury to their farms, caused by their absence, teach them a lesson which for ever remains engraven on their minds. They arrive at home fleeced of their last farthing, and no future grievances, however great, can induce them to go on a similar journey. Grasping landlords, fraudulent neighbors, and all other perpetrators of wrong, they find to be less cruel than the tender mercies of the officers of

* This power is exercised by Superintendents and Sergeants, called Darogahs and Jemadars.

justice. The large expenditure of money and time, and the little substantial redress which, under the most favorable circumstances, is ever obtained, discourage the people from prosecuting criminals, and appearing as witnesses against them. This sometimes leads the police to arrest and take them to court by force, where they continue under a kind of surveillance as long as their presence is deemed necessary. We have seen a crowd of reluctant witnesses and prosecutors conducted to a station-house, where, during the night, they were carefully watched to prevent them running away, and next morning proceeded on their journey under a constabulary guard. From a course so highly reprehensible there naturally flows a long train of evils; many persons who have suffered from breaches of the laws make no complaint, and, if questioned on the subject, declare they have sustained no injury, and individuals who saw the deed of wickedness done, say they have not the least personal knowledge of the matter, so that a vast amount of crime is committed which never comes under the cognizance of the executive authorities. Hence governmental statistics are most unsafe guides to judge of the moral condition of any particular country. Those defective tabular statements may make it resemble Elysium, while its real likeness contains many of the features of a less happy clime.

If we wish to continue the rulers of India, one of the finest empires in the world, let the courts, which at present are a curse to the country, be reformed before a sense of wrong conduct the people to that point which they may have nearly reached, when resistance to constituted authorities ceases to be a crime, and the oppressed seek through anarchy for that relief which governors denied them. The recent rebellion was a conflagration we were able to quench, but the rising of the masses may be like the eruption of a volcano, whose fires, when once in a blaze, cannot be extinguished. The adoption of a simpler method of procedure is imperatively called for. In the present system of administration the forms are so numerous that, instead of acting as salutary checks on precipitate decisions, and securing the ends of justice, they so augment the labors of the European official as greatly to limit the quantity of business he might perform, and consequently throw a large portion of work into the hands of native subordinates, who, as a body, for there may be honorable exceptions, think it no sin, but regard it as an immemorial right, to sell themselves to the highest bidder, and even to the bidders on both sides of the trial that may come before them, and protract the case till the prospect of further gain has vanished. That reprehensible custom of other persons than the functionary who tries the case taking the depositions of

witnesses must be abandoned, it is a practice which is abhorrent to the principles of justice, and gives rise to evils of the gravest character. Moreover, let the officers who sit on the bench refuse the testimony of those who swear away their souls for two-pence or threepence a day, and let them tread in the steps of Sir Mordaunt Wells, and sentence the perjured to imprisonment, and, if possible, consign the wealthy villains, who paid him to perpetrate the crime, not only to the same punishment, but in addition to that make them work on the roads in irons. Against such decisive measures those who live on the wages of iniquity, or use the courts as instruments to accomplish their wicked designs will doubtless raise a cry, but courageous men, who have the welfare of the country at heart, will not be deterred from performing their duty. Hindus and Mahomedans of the present generation may revile them, but their descendants will regard them as the true friends of India, and pronounce their names with respect, affection, and reverence. If no such reform be attempted, let us honestly confess we are indifferent to the real good of the people, and rave at those irregular institutions where justice is purely, speedily, and gratuitously administered, which are an honor to Planters and a disgrace to Government. But no railing or vituperation can hasten their fall, they will die a natural death when the causes which gave them birth cease to operate, when the legal courts are no longer sinks of corruption, till then they will be frequented and held in high estimation by the laboring poor.

There remains an evil to be noticed which legislation cannot remedy. The degradation of the people is such as would in a measure neutralize the wisest laws, and till the standard of morals be raised, no great reform in the administration of justice will ever be effected. Among a bold, enlightened, and Christian peasantry such a state of things as that which has passed under review, could not last a day, but Hindus have no public spirit, no sympathy, no burning indignations against the wrongs done to their neighbors, nor will they make the smallest sacrifice which might help to redress them. As far as the interests of others are concerned, their better feelings appear to be dead. They can see their fellow-creatures stricken with sorrow and ground to the dust by oppression, and be as unmoved as stones. Compassion and tenderness to the poor, the sick, and the dying are seldom exhibited. Objects of misery, stretched in dilapidated hovels, on the banks of rivers, and the high-roads, in the last agonies of dissolution, perishing for the want of care and nourishment, are passed by with profound apathy. To stop to perform the kind offices of humanity is a thought which never enters their minds; for love to persons not of their own family or caste is an affection to

which they are strangers, and which they would probably despise were they capable of understanding it. Envious of the prosperity of others, they use their utmost endeavors to injure them, and for the accomplishment of this purpose resort to cunning, defamation, forgery, and perjury, weapons which few men of any age or country have wielded with equal skill and cruelty. A truthful and honest person, straightforward and conscientious in his dealings, correct in both word and deed, if not an unknown, is a rare character. Hence distrust, hatred, and malice are everywhere busily at work gnawing the vitals of society.

Though we have thus spoken plainly, we are not aware that our strictures contain any exaggeration. Both Hindus and Mahomedans have written on native morals in condemnatory language equally strong, and whoever feels a real interest in the welfare of a people, and wishes to aid in their reformation, ought to be courageous enough to point out their vices and to call them by their proper names. However, we should guard against a thorough acquaintance with native character souring the mind and contracting the heart, effects which we see it produce in more than a few Englishmen, especially since the rebellion. That those who lost relations and friends in that awful commotion should find it difficult to control their feelings cannot be a matter of surprise, nothing but a large portion of the spirit of Jesus, who loved his enemies and murderers, will enable them to do it. Dark as native character is, it has its parallel in the nations that were contemporary with the sacred writers. The people of Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, Philippi, Colosse, and Thessalonica, to whom apostolic letters were addressed, lived, prior to their conversion, in the same sins as Hindus of the present age, and Christianity, which raised them from moral debasement, has lost none of its efficacy, and is destined to achieve on the plains of India victories not less illustrious than those which it wrought in the early days of the Church. This is an object which secular education cannot attain. We beg not to be misunderstood. Far from being enemies to the intellectual advancement of the people, we long to see every branch of learning cultivated, and the fruits of knowledge carried to the doors of the peasantry. English literature and science sap the foundations of idolatry, and break the chains which, for centuries, have held the votaries of superstition in bondage; they expand the mind, are of eminent service in the respective avocations of life, and no one who is able to appreciate their advantages will despise them; still we contend it is a great mistake to suppose that knowledge generates virtue; it did not in the classical land of Greece or in any contemporary

nation ; it failed to correct the heart and control the passions of the polished citizens of Athens, nor has it been less powerless in the learned men and youthful collegians of Hindostan.

The moral renovation of a people is a divine work, and the Bible, under the influence of the Spirit of God, is the instrument by which it is effected. Thus accompanied, it enlightens, sanctifies, and elevates the soul. The result of its promulgation in India is about one hundred and thirty-two thousand Native Christians, a little more than a fifth of whom are communicants. The number is an insignificant part of the whole population, a hundred and eighty millions, and on this account some good men allow themselves to be depressed, and speak of further evangelization as almost hopeless without the revival of miracles, but the progress of the Gospel in nearly every country has been slow. In contemplating the position which Britain now holds in Christendom, we often forget the darkness which once covered the land, and the ages that were spent in dissipating it ; while the work was being done there were doubtless individuals of weak faith who regarded its accomplishment as scarcely possible, but the agents whom Heaven, from time to time, raised up to perform it, persevered in their arduous labors, and in the end Druidism was effaced from the memory of the nation, the worship of Esus under the symbol of the majestic oak, its groves, altars, and sacrifices, augurs, priests, and bards, passed away as if they had not been, and were known only to antiquaries. A similar fate awaits the religion of Brahma ; the day will come when not one in a thousand will be aware such a system of superstition ever existed, and all knowledge of it will be confined to dusty books, which even the learned will seldom open.

Not dejected then by the paucity of Native Christians, we proceed to notice their character. The gold is mixed with alloy, and the wheat with tares, which has ever been the case, and is exemplified in the existing Churches of Europe and America. Every degree of the inner spiritual life is developed in their deportment, and instances of heroism have been exhibited ; during the rebellion the best proofs that could be furnished of love to the Saviour were afforded, for, when to renounce him, a prolongation of their days was offered, they died "not accepting deliverance," the same spirit animated them which inspired the ancient martyrs, which is a fact of much more importance than any consideration that might be derived from the magnitude of their numbers. The Divine counsels are not yet so clearly developed as to authorize us to anticipate the exact period when India will be brought under the spiritual dominion of the Redeemer, but

the event we are warranted to regard as certain, and cannot fail to perceive that all things are moving, though slowly, towards its consummation. Instead then of wasting time in attempting a minute interpretation of unfulfilled prophecy, in which no human intellect ever succeeded, and in which, from the limited range of our vision, we must necessarily fail, let us rather attend to duties of a practical nature, be workers together with God in executing his purposes, present to the Heathen a living exhibition of the Christian graces, proclaim the Gospel in every city, town and village, which, when accompanied by the unction of the Holy Ghost, will enlighten, purify, strengthen, comfort, and bless those who hear it, and let scholastic institutions, which educate youths for the regions of eternal life, have more of our help, affection and sympathy, and be remembered, with other departments of labor, in our supplications at the heavenly throne.

Some of the gentlemen whom Missionary Societies sent to the East as deputies decried these institutions as of little or no utility. Such deputations have been six in number, comprising ten persons, who were acquainted with none of the Indian languages, being unable to address the Native Christian communities they were commissioned to visit, or understand what was said to them, they were necessarily shut out from all personal intercourse with the body of the people, and consequently incompetent to form a correct judgment respecting the power which education is exerting on their social, moral, and spiritual welfare; we therefore attach no weight to their opinions, and consider the sums expended on their voyages and travels as a criminal waste of the revenues of the Church. We give them full credit for rectitude of intention, yet cannot but feel persuaded that, if the members of Missionary Boards, who sent them out, had foreign mercantile business to transact, which required the presence of an agent, they would select one who knew the language of the country, if his destination were Amsterdam, they would deem it requisite that he should speak Dutch, if Paris, that he should be familiar with French; for not only worldly but even religious men often show greater wisdom in temporal than in spiritual affairs, and less frequently outrage the dictates of common sense. Our colleges and schools have been likewise condemned by a few ill-informed speakers on Missionary platforms at home. It is, however, to be hoped that the devoted servants of God who conduct them will bear reproach with the fortitude of Christians, and persevere in their labors, which have already, and will continue to swell the number of the redeemed. The day will come when they will be duly appreciated, and the voice of calumny be as silent as the grave.

ART. VIII.—1. "*The Lahore Chronicle*." 1859.

2. *Report on the Administration of the Punjab*. 1859.

In the following Article we shall essay to describe a series of festivities which occurred in last December, near Umballa, the great cantonment of the Cis-Sutlej States, and in which a large number of British Officers and Native Chiefs took part. The social gatherings at which European and Asiatic gentlemen can meet on a friendly footing have not only picturesque associations and local interest, but also political significance. It is notorious that of late years the march of events has caused a social estrangement between the people of India and the British governing race. It is not our purpose now to consider the many ways by which this estrangement has been brought about. We need not necessarily impute any blame to ourselves and our countrymen on this account. The social circumstances affecting both races are beyond the control of either. That the estrangement is considerable, and is rather increasing than otherwise, and that it is to be regretted, are propositions, however, which hardly admit of doubt. The misfortune may, to a certain extent, be unavoidable; but those who have the good of the British administration in India at heart, should try, by their individual practice and example, to narrow the gulph of separation, and to augment the neutral ground on which the two races may meet in cordiality and good fellowship. The festivities we are about to describe did constitute one of those occasions which certainly do promote a good understanding between the European and the Asiatic: and which have, happily, occurred frequently during the past cold season in the North-West parts of India.

Social kindness and affability on the part of Europeans are appreciated by natives of India to an extent of which we are often not adequately aware. It is the tritest of remarks, that civility costs nothing and goes a long way. Probably in no country does it go so far as in India. Despite the objections which difference of race and habit may give rise to, there is yet no doubt that our native subjects do form a high estimate of English gentlemen. Despite recent reverses, the halo of prestige still surrounds the European conqueror; the effect of his personal presence is still felt to be imposing. If we visit the natives, they are sincerely glad to see us. If we have them out shooting or hunting with us, they are really pleased to be of the company. If we attend their festivities and walk in their gardens, and see the fountains play, and admire the illuminations, (and it is really all

very well worth seeing), the native host is much gratified, and considers himself honored. If in return we ask them to our houses, and give them a kind welcome when they arrive, and altogether treat them with friendliness during peace, we shall have a better understanding of them and a firmer hold upon them when the day of trouble approaches. It would be absurd to urge against this sentiment, that during the late rebellion some natives who had mixed in European society, and had enjoyed the advantages of European education and intercourse, did, nevertheless, turn traitors towards us. Some very painful instances of this kind did indeed occur. But against these many more instances might be cited, in which friendship and kindness on the part of Europeans towards natives was well repaid by loyalty and devotion in the hour of trial. In our treatment of the natives, we English in India should never be induced, not even by the late sad outbreaks, to forget the obligations which Christian charity imposes upon us. Great as we are in power, we must show ourselves equally great in mercy and kindness. It is from Christian charity that there springs that consideration, that sympathy, which is one of the surest means of establishing our dominion in the hearts and minds of our subjects. It is this charity which will best illustrate and adorn our national character. And without this, our arms and our policy, our western knowledge, our mechanical power, our administrative skill, will be nothing worth.

But to turn to the subject which gave rise to these reflections. During the year 1859, a marriage was arranged between the daughter of the Maharaja of Puttiala and the young Maharaja of Bhurtpore. It came off at the palace of the bride's father at Puttiala, in December last. And it is this wedding which gives the title to our present Article. Both royal houses belong to the great Jât tribe. This tribe is not of high caste, and is celebrated chiefly for agricultural industry. The royal houses then which have sprung from it are of democratic origin, and have largely intermarried with their subjects. On the one hand this was the first time that a Maharaja of Bhurtpore had married the daughter of a Sovereign Prince. On the other hand, it was the first time that a Sovereign Prince had married a daughter of Puttiala. So the occasion was one of special interest to the friends and allies of both houses.

The name of the Bhurtpore State is familiar to the readers of this *Review*. The late Raja died a few years ago, leaving an infant son to succeed to the throne. This boy, the young Maharaja, is now about nine years old. The State is administered by a Council of Regency, and controlled by a British Officer as Agent. During the crisis of 1857 at Agra, some troops of the

Bhurlpore State misbehaved. But the people about the King generally behaved well : one of the ministers did gallant service on the field, and the Bhurlpore State was honorably mentioned by Lord Canning at the Durbar he held last winter at Agra. The territory of Bhurlpore is in parts rich enough, and the revenues amount probably to 20 or 25 lakhs of Rupees a year.

The Maharaja of Puttiala enjoys a considerable personal celebrity. The visit which he paid to Calcutta in 1854-5, has caused him to be favorably remembered at the Presidency. The services which Providence enabled him to render to the British cause, in 1857, will cause him ever to be remembered by the present race of British Officers in the Punjab, and do indeed entitle him to the respect and good-will of every Englishman who can sympathise in the anxieties which beset our countrymen in 1857, and can appreciate the marvellous deliverance that was wrought. There were several reasons which gave peculiar importance to the conduct of Puttiala during 1857. *Firstly*, this State was situated just in the rear of our operations against Delhi. If Puttiala remained firm, the communications between the Punjab, the base of operation, and the besieging force would remain open. The treasure, the stores, the material, the reinforcements despatched under Sir John Lawrence's direction, would arrive regularly at that memorable ridge before Delhi, where our brave and much-enduring countrymen were fighting for an issue, which must either be a glorious victory or a miserable destruction. In the event of Puttiala's defection, there would have been little or no hope of recapturing Delhi. Without him, we really had, at that time, no means whatever of keeping open the communication between the Punjab and the camp of the besieging force. Every available European soldier had been despatched from Umballa and the Hill Stations to the camp before Delhi. We had no troops of our own, European or Native, to protect the Grand Trunk Road, and to escort the stores and munitions of war which were indispensable to the conduct of the siege. In brief and plain terms, then, the Maharaja was so placed that, at that moment, we could not have done without him. *Secondly*, the Maharaja was not only a prince with a territory worth upwards of twenty lakhs a year in revenue, and with several thousand troops, but he was also the head of a large clan of Rajas and Chiefs, possessing on various tenures two-thirds of those broad territories which lie between the Delhi frontier and the river Sutlej. Doubtless many of these Chiefs, and especially the Raja of Jheend, did of themselves act independently, and display active and courageous loyalty in our cause. Still every one acquainted with India knows how the flock follow the bell-wether. The Cis-Sutlej Chiefs formed a

large and powerful clan, that had from the commencement been managed by many of the best political officers that the Company's Service ever produced ; by Ochterlony, George Clerk, Wade, Broadfoot, Henry Lawrence, Edmonstone And this clan looked to Puttiala as its head. Then again the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs were the life and soul of the great sect of Malwa Sikhs, on the east side of the Sutlej, as contradistinguished from the Manjha Sikhs of the Punjab Proper The position of the Malwa Sikhs then was most critical and important, they were the great political break-water between the loyal Punjab and the rebellious Hindoostan. Against this human barrier the tide of rebellion and anarchy surged and dashed for months together. There was no intervening, no neutral ground. The waters of strife came right up to the barrier. At times it was very near giving way, but British Officers repaired the breaches and kept it firm Had it given way, the rebellion would have advanced right up to the Sutlej, the example would have been set of one sect of Sikhs having turned against us. And who shall say what effect such an example might have had upon the Manjha Sikhs in the heart of the Punjab There is no doubt that the manifest loyalty of Puttiala had a most salutary effect on the Punjab Chiefs

It were vain to speculate on what would have happened if the siege of Delhi had failed, and the Punjab had been lost to us in 1857 But enough has perhaps been said to give the reader some faint idea of the importance attached at that crisis to the conduct of Puttiala. At that juncture, then, how did the Maharaja behave ? From the moment that the news of the outbreak was telegraphed from Delhi, he placed his troops and his servants at our disposal. He said that his house had always been faithful to the paramount power, from the time it received its Patent of Royalty from the Dooranee Emperor, to the time when it did good service in the Affghan war and the Sutlej Campaign. He tendered his personal service either to march to Delhi, or to remain near Umballa, and repress disturbance at home. He went to meet General Anson at the Umballa Cantonment. And soon enough work was found for him. Mr George Barnes, the Commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej States, had lately returned from England He possessed great insight into the native character, and had exercised political control for some years over the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs. He was and is one of the leading men of Sir John Lawrence's school, and is among the foremost of those officers who won such a name for the Punjab during 1857 The Maharaja was in daily communication with Mr Barnes, and evinced every anxiety to comply with all the Commissioner's behests. Mr. Barnes at that time had indeed a difficult task. He had to maintain order

in districts bordering on the scene of the rebellion. From the Delhi Districts, blazing with rebellion, there were constantly falling sparks and firebrands into the Cis-Sutlej States. Often those States were very nearly catching fire, and the rising flames had to be stamped out with vigilance and vigour. But Mr Barnes had also to maintain and exert political influence over all the Rajas and Chiefs, to dispose and arrange their available force that might best subserve the plans of the Commander of the Forces before Delhi, and might best minister to the wants of that gallant band. The manner in which these arduous duties were performed by Mr Barnes was attested by the public acknowledgment transmitted to him and his officers by Sir A. Wilson after the capture of Delhi. Thus the Maharaja of Puttiala had the best possible advice and guidance from Mr. Barnes throughout the crisis of 1857.

All the Grand Trunk Road, from Umballa to Kurnaul, was protected by his troops; and escorts of all kinds were furnished by him. Some four or five thousand men were engaged in our service. The duties on which these men were employed were multifarious and indispensable. The Maharaja had evil spirits among his subjects, but he managed to keep order. He maintained a resolute and cheerful aspect. The fugitives from the Sirsa District, who passed through his capital, were treated with every consideration, and he assured them of his confidence that sooner or later British troops would pour out from home and regain every thing. Towards the autumn of 1857, however, he did, in common with the stoutest of our adherents, feel deep anxiety for the issue of the crisis. His eyes were constantly turned towards Lahore, for he knew that, if an outbreak should occur in the Punjab Proper, then Puttiala, situate between the Punjab on one side and the Delhi rebellion on the other, would be like an island on which two advancing tides were encroaching on either side. When Delhi was recaptured, and the crisis for North-West India was overpast, one of the first acts of the Supreme Government, on the recommendation of Sir John Lawrence, was to grant to the Maharaja of Puttiala territory yielding two lakhs of Rupees per annum, out of the confiscated domains of the traitor Nawab of Jhujjur. This arrangement was doubly advantageous, for it not only conferred a munificent reward on a faithful ally, but it also placed a friendly and reliable Hindoo Principality on a somewhat remote and wild frontier in the neighborhood of Mewatees, Shekhawatees, and various troublesome Mahomedan tribes. Recently, on the occasion of Lord Canning's visit to Umballa, the Maharaja was received in great state at the Governor-General's Durbar; was honored with a well-deserved tribute from the lips of the Viceroy, and

received the assurance that, in the event of heirs failing his line, the right of adoption from among the Phoolkea clan (to which the Maharaja belongs) would be recognised by the British Government.

Such was the host, and such were his antecedents when, in December 1857, a large company of European Officers and gentlemen were assembled at Puttiala. There were about eighty Officers, besides many ladies, from the various cantonments in the neighborhood, and especially Umballa, which is only 20 miles distant. All the Chiefs of the Cis-Sutlej States and some from the Punjab were present, many chiefs had their camps pitched separately in the neighborhood of the town. Each of these encampments formed a little city of itself, in the centre the tent of the Raja himself would rise up, and all round it would cluster the little tents of his servants, retainers, or troops. These little tents contain an astonishing variety of articles enough to furnish an old curiosity shop—horses, ponies, bullocks, and donkeys are tethered and picketed all round them. The smoke of the countless cooking fires of an evening would obscure the air; sentries with rusty arms and faded uniforms would be posted all round. All night long there would be the sounds of drums, and tinkling cymbals, and singing voices. Such is the encampment of a Native Chief. There were many such pitched all round Puttiala on this occasion; but were so arranged as not to interfere with the quarter assigned to the European visitors. But besides the chiefs there were natives of all ranks, high and low, innumerable. A general invitation had been issued to the country all round. And every man who, either by family connexion, or clanship, or acquaintance, or political association, or priestly influence, had a right, or was under an obligation, to be present, was so present either in person or by representative. Persons from distant places, and apparently without any immediate concern in the affair, would be present; but nevertheless it would be found that there was a connexion, a mutual understanding, which brought them there. Priests of all ranks, Sikh and Hindoo, would be there; and it was evident that these gentry have a thorough freemasonry among themselves. To any thoughtful observer such spectacles are interesting, as showing the infinite ramifications of native society, and the various channels of influence which exist, and the remarkable powers of secret combination for any purpose which are hereby afforded. And nothing could show more conclusively the indirect moral influence possessed by native princes and chiefs; and the important aid which, when well affected, they can render to the British Government. On this occasion, it was calculated that

there were a hundred thousand visitors present at Puttiala, most of whom were "boarded and lodged" at the Maharaja's expense. The depôts of grain and victuals established in the environs of the city were well worth seeing. The greater part of the Maharaja's troops were engaged in doing police and sentry work, and certainly very few police Magistrates could have kept order better than it was kept on this occasion. Vast as was the number of holiday-makers, incessant as were the festivities night and day, great as were the quantities of "effects" of all kinds scattered in tents in the plain, still no "row" took place, and no thefts occurred.

By the 8th of December all the European visitors had arrived. Mr. Barnes himself was there, and so was Sir H. Garrett, the General Commanding the Sirhind Division, with a number of Officers. The district Officers of the neighboring British districts came in during the day. A large garden, full of shady trees, was allotted to the European visitors. The tents were pitched under the trees, and the scene in the garden soon became one of considerable animation. During the first day the visitors looked round the place. Puttiala is not a very large town, but of late years it has been much improved after the European model, that is, broad streets have been lined out, regular bazaars built, pavement laid down, drains constructed, and the like. Throughout the Cis-Sutlej States the independent chiefs are, in the matter of architecture and municipal conservancy, imitating the European style. The same imitation is extending to furniture also. These gentry are becoming particularly fond of our ornamental glass work. It would astonish people at the Presidency, not a little, if they knew the number of mirrors, chandeliers, "lustres," and such like things, which are exported annually from Calcutta to the provinces bordering on the Sutlej. But to return to Puttiala, the chief object of interest within the city is the castellated palace. The centre of it consists of a strong well-built fort, in which the Maharaja's Harem is now kept. Outside the fort, however, two fine quadrangles, with hall of audience and apartments rising up to three stories, have been constructed by the present Maharaja and his father. The fort itself was built by the present Maharaja's great-grandfather Alla Sing. This Alla Sing, who flourished about a hundred years ago, was born in a village many miles from where the capital of Puttiala now stands. He began life, (as it is commonly said,) as a poor peasant, with a slender patrimony, consisting of two draught bullocks and half an acre of land. But he was an enterprising man, and as the bonds of the Mogul Empire were being loosened all over the country, the times were suited for enterprise. So Alla Sing "annexed" village after village, till he ended his days as

Sovereign of the Puttiala State and the builder of the fort we have just mentioned. The place of his birth and of his education in the art of annexation is much venerated by his descendants, and the spot where he cooked his food in those days, his hearth, as it is called, is held sacred. The place of his funeral pyre is marked by a handsome tomb of red sandstone, near the fort; and round this tomb there sleep the descendants who inherited the sovereignty he founded.

But the best object in Puttiala is the "Motee Bagh" or Pearl Garden. This has marble fountains, and artificial cascades, and summer-houses and tanks, and is altogether a very inviting place, though its architecture, like that of all modern Hindoo and Mahomedan buildings, is quite inferior to the style which the great Moguls introduced when they built gardens and palaces. It was close to this that the great tent was pitched for the bridegroom, the young Maharaja of Bhurtpore. And a spacious plain was marked off for the large body of followers that he was to bring with him.

The 9th of December had been fixed for the entry of the bridegroom into Puttiala. He had been marching up from Bhurtpore *via* Delhi, and was to make his state entry into Puttiala on the 9th. As his procession approached the city, it was to be met by a similar procession headed by the Maharaja of Puttiala. A number of the European visitors joined this procession on elephants, and all the native chiefs were there, similarly mounted. As this procession got under weigh in the court-yard of the palace, and struggled through the streets of the city, the crush of elephants was extraordinary, and as one huge brute dashed up against the other, (just like the waves of a troubled ocean surging about,) the crash of shattered howdahs might be heard. But as the procession emerged into the open plain, the sight was very imposing; the elephants were got into something like a line, and there were about seventy of them in the field. The gorgeous trappings, and the gay costumes of the chiefs shone forth in the sun. And the elephants, which carried the European Officers, looked as well as any. On one elephant would be Officers with the Highland costumes and bonnets; on another, Officers in the Hussar uniforms; on another, Officers with the Infantry uniform, and so on. Occasionally, however, the dust would rise and fly about, and that would add a "misty magnificence" to the scene. After this procession had marched along for about two miles, clouds of dust indicated the approach of the Bhurtpore procession. And soon it came in sight, also moving in a compact array of about fifty elephants. The young Maharaja was upon an elephant perfectly covered with massive gold trappings; with him were carried the insignia of native royalty, the great Fish

and the Sacred Bird, both emblems being in solid gold and silver. Next to him on an elephant was Major Bouverie, the Government Agent. It was observed that the swell mob crowded a good deal round the young Maharaja's elephant, and the sticks of the attendants resounded incessantly on the backs of these gentry. The reason of this was, that all sorts of light-fingered persons endeavor to abstract jewels and pieces of gold embroidery from the trappings of the elephant, and that nothing short of the watchful eyes and thick sticks of the attendants could prevent endless pilfering. After the introductory salutations between the two Maharajas had passed, an attempt was made to unite the processions, this obliged the Puttiala procession to wheel round, a manœuvre which can better be imagined than described. In less than a minute the two processions got mingled up in utter confusion, a blinding dust arose, so that none could see where he was going. the elephants (being nervous beasts, always losing their heads in an emergency) dashed up against each other, and with their long trunks loudly trumpeted forth their disgust at the proceedings; then the howdahs began to go crash, crash, and a small disaster seemed imminent. However, order was soon restored, and the array of elephants, with the rich variety of costume and trappings, was really very fine. And the occasional contrempe, which must always occur, added a little zest and excitement to the thing. Returning towards Puttiala, the procession halted at a tent and canopy which had been pitched for the Bhurtpore Maharaja on the road. Here the parties of both processions alighted for a few minutes, the guests were seated on velvet cushions spread out on the bare ground; some religious ceremonies were performed; flowers were placed in the bridegroom's hand, and some incantations muttered. Then the Puttiala procession returned to the city, leaving the Bhurtpore procession to rest itself awhile and prepare for the grand entry.

The Puttiala party then returning to the palace, shook the dust off their garments, and dismissed their elephants, and took up their position at the palace windows. There was a capital balcony for the European spectators. There was a lofty enclosed place, from which the ladies of the Harem might see without being seen. There were roofs of houses covered with the citizens of Puttiala in gala costume. The road and street were kept clear by the Puttiala troops, in order that the bridegroom's procession might pass. Presently the vanguard of the procession came in the shape of troops, which, though not very regular to European eyes, were curious enough. Then there were all kinds of oriental cars and vehicles, in every variety of shape and size, some drawn by elephants, some by camels, some by horses, some by bullocks:

however mean the animal itself might be, its trappings would be more or less handsome and rich in color ; then would follow strings of led animals, horses and ponies, all caparisoned ; then there came ricketty carriages and gigs of European build And all this time attendants in grotesque costume, and sometimes of picturesque appearance, marched along, and music, sometimes native horns and pipes, more discordant than the bag-pipe itself, and sometimes cracked brass instruments of European make, kept up an unceasing volume of dissonant sounds. Then there appeared the insignia of royalty, which we have above mentioned, and then the Maharaja himself As he passed the great balcony over the palace gateway, where the European gentry and native chiefs had stationed themselves, he and his attendants flung silver and gold coins in handfuls among the crowd, which, by this time, had become very dense The crowd struggled for the spoil, and rushed about all round the elephants, in imminent danger of being trampled to death. The attendants seemed intent on keeping a sort of order by means of their sticks The noise of countless sticks resounding on human backs, was strange enough. But it did seem rather inconsistent to drive a crowd into the wildest state of excitement by throwing gold coins among them, and then to apply the *argumentum baculinum*, because they were unruly. The natives, however, say that nothing short of this discipline would prevent the crowd, in their strife for the coins, from getting crushed to death by the elephants. As it was two lives were lost. At the first the spectators on the neighboring housetops were grave and orderly, and looked quite dignified as contrasted with the struggling mob in the street But, as if to disturb their gravity, the Maharaja's attendants threw gold coins among *them* also. The effect was quite electrical In an instant rich bankers and well-dressed citizens jumped up from their seats and began to scramble for the spoils. Such is the magnetic attraction between the human hand and the precious metals—if a shell had burst among them, the confusion could not have been more instantaneous At one time the elephants themselves seemed to catch the infection, and apparently, under the impression that something very valuable was going about begging, began to poke their trunks about, expecting to pick up something ! At length the young Maharaja himself passed on towards his encampment amidst the vociferations of the crowd. And after him, there followed that train of rag-tag and bob-tail, which cannot be described, but which is not unworthy of the observation of those who like to see humanity in its strangest varieties. The procession took about two hours in passing by the palace.

After that the European ladies and gentlemen returned to their own encampment to talk over the sports of the morning,

and to prepare for the festivities of the evening. The preparations for illumination were on a grand scale, and were made, according to custom, at the expense of the bridegroom. From the Bhurtpore encampment to the palace, about a mile and a half, the roadway was one avenue of light, on either side a framework of wood had been erected, to which the oil-lamps were attached. And at intervals there were triumphal arches and festoons of light. The effect of the illumination was, however, a little marred by the masses of smoke which arose from the Bhurtpore encampment. It appeared that the 30,000 camp followers were all cooking their suppers after the day's march, the smoke of so many fires pervaded the atmosphere, and sometimes made the eyes of spectators smart acutely.

After viewing the illuminations, the party proceeded to the same balcony, as in the morning, to witness the entry of the Bhurtpore Maharaja into the Puttiala palace. In the morning the bridegroom had only entered his own encampment, passing through the city. He was now to enter the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Harem. A large party of European gentlemen and Native Chiefs were assembled in the balcony over the palace gateway. After a time rockets, discharged in numbers, announced the approach of the young Maharaja. And then as his procession of elephants approached the gate, a crowd of torch-bearers turned the darkness into day, and singers and dancers kept up a wild chorus. The crush of the elephants under the gateway, the swarming populace, the flickering glare of the torch-light, the contrast of light and darkness, the mixture of splendor and confusion, the discordant din, rendered the scene very curious. In the day time such a scene would be strange; but it was stranger still at midnight. In the space opposite the gateway there was spread out what is called the "Flower bed." This flower bed consists of wooden framework, representing miniature trees, shrubs and flowers. These are covered with all sorts of fancy-work, and also with a good deal of gold and silver embroidery, so that it has a sort of marketable value. While it was spread out on the ground, the mob seemed to crowd round it in a sort of wistful manner as if feasting their greedy eyes thereon. As soon as the last elephant had disappeared underneath the gloomy portal, a signal was given to the mob to work their will on the flower bed. In an instant they began to tear the flower bed to pieces; each man carrying off what he could. The scramble of these people, for these little spoils in the dark, with the crackling of the flower bed, as it was subjected to this wholesale spoliation, formed a singular scene indeed.

As the little bridegroom alighted at the gate of the Harem, the Maharaja of Puttiala took him up in his arms and carried

him inside. The poor boy was, it is said, considerably indisposed by the fatigues of the day.

It was now midnight; but still the ministers, officers of the Bhurtpore State, had to be received in the great hall of audience. This hall is built in native style, but furnished with immense chandeliers of colored Bohemian glass; one red, another green, another yellow, and so on. In an English room they would look gaudy; but they have a gorgeous effect, and suit well with the other furniture, the rich carpets, and the gay costumes, Bohemian glass is highly admired by Orientals. At each end of the room there are immense mirrors, which the Maharaja himself selected when he last visited Calcutta, and which of course impart to the hall the appearance of indefinite extension at either end. How such things travelled safely for a thousand miles in the interior of India without the slightest injury, escaping all the perils of the Government Bullock Train, is hard to be imagined—the fact proves that Inland Transit in India cannot be so bad after all! Well, in this room all the Bhurtpore gentry were received. In their robes, the colors of red and crimson greatly predominated, most of the best dresses were entirely red and gold. Among the chief of these was Ruttun Sing Choudrec, a very able man, and quite the pillar of the Bhurtpore State. He is a tall dignified man, with a countenance full of intellect. His personal gallantry under General Showers, and his devoted loyalty, is attested by a patent signed by Lord Canning. He also wears a sword presented to him by the British Government. He and the Bhurtpore Officers with him were introduced to the European Officers present. Then a space was cleared for singers and dancers; and the assembly did not break up till a late hour.

The next morning the drowsy city did not wake till a late hour, but by a tolerably early hour the Maharaja of Puttiala was engaged in entertaining all the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs at a monster breakfast. On that occasion of course we were not present. At about noon, however, preparations were made for a great Durbar, at which all the European Officers and all the Native Chiefs, both of the Cis-Sutlej and of Bhurtpore, were to be present. The hall of audience, though spacious, was quite too small for this. So an enormous awning or canopy of beautiful colors, supported by silver poles, arranged in lines like colonnades, was spread over the great quadrangle: on the ground of the quadrangle were spread all sorts of rich carpets. Thus an enormous apartment was "rigged up." The effect was really beautiful when the place was filled with European Officers in full dress uniform, and Native Chiefs, covered with silks, and satins, and velvets, and embroidery and jewels.

In full sunshine the effect might have been glaring: but the subdued light under the canopy imparted a softened grandeur to the whole scene. On one side of the Maharaja sat his little son-in-law of Bhurtpore, and on the other Mr Barnes, the Commissioner. The Maharaja is himself a tall fine-built man, in the prime of life. His appearance and carriage present all the characteristics of the Malwa Sikhs. Each Officer was introduced to the Maharaja by name (about seventy were there.) The Maharaja said, no doubt with sincerity, that the presence of so many gentlemen conferred upon him an honor, which would be appreciated by his countrymen. Each Native Chief, as he came up, presented his salutations. To two or three of them the Maharaja paid the distinction of rising as they approached. Among these were his two kinsmen the Rajas of Jheend and Nabha.

The Raja Suroop Sing of Jheend is, in respect of services rendered to our cause during the disturbances of 1857, second only to the Maharaja, if indeed second to him. Suroop Sing's ancestors, Bagh Sing and Gupput Sing, were of the same clan and of much the same character as the Alla Sing whom we have above described. Suroop Sing himself will say that his title was originally that of the strong right arm alone.

He has fine features, with the flowing grey beard which a Sikh regards as the greatest ornament imaginable, and is in stature considerably above six feet. He really stands like Saul, a head and shoulder above the rest of the people. The moment the Delhi news was telegraphed to Umballa, Suroop Sing got his summons to march against the rebels. He marched within twelve hours, making the pithy remark that he had enjoyed comfort for fifty years under the British, and should now cast in his lot with theirs. He took with him all his troops, (they were not numerous,) leaving his fort and harem and little capital quite defenceless. As he approached Delhi he managed to march in the vanguard of the British Army: preparing shelter at that burning season, and laying in supplies, for the European soldiers. He was actually the first man who appeared before Delhi in arms on the British side after the outbreak. His troops certainly did get worsted once on the Jumna ferry, but, on the whole, they did good service, and formed part of the storming columns in the final assault at the Cashmere Gate. The Raja himself remained under canvas with our troops throughout the whole period of the siege. He has been rewarded by a grant of a lakh of Rupees per annum from among the confiscated territory of rebels. Recently a complimentary speech was made to him by Lord Canning at the Umballa Durbar, and the right of adoption from the Phoolkeea clan was conceded to him. He has however a son who promises to turn out well. He keeps his

troops in good discipline : he looks after the administration of his territories and does judicial work himself. He is a thoroughly good and satisfactory Native Prince : loyal, sincere, and plain spoken. While he was absent at Delhi the mutinous sepoys from Jullundur passed by his defenceless capital. His servants, however, shut the gate in time and prevented the mutineers from entering. The escape, however, was a narrow one.

At this Puttiala Durbar the young Raja of Nabha was an honored guest. He is a handsome and well-educated young man, about twenty years of age. His position in the Cis-Sutlej States is about equal to that of Jheend. During the disturbances his troops were available for the protection of the road between Umballa and Loodiana and also of Loodiana itself. They were the only men available to dispute the passage of the Jullundur mutineers across the Sutlej, when young Ricketts of the Civil Service so greatly distinguished himself, and they were afterwards employed in escorting the siege train which enabled the final blow to be struck at Delhi. During that trying time the young Raja left Nabha, his capital, and staid at Loodiana. He has been rewarded by a grant of confiscated territory. To him also Lord Canning addressed special acknowledgments on the recent occasion at Umballa, and announced that the right of adoption would be conceded.

The local celebrities at the Durbar were numerous, and though the time occupied was long, yet it did not seem tedious, as there was so much to see, and as new arrivals were constantly marching up. Native etiquette did not permit that the English ladies should actually be present at the Durbar, but a place was provided for them whence they could see every thing without themselves being seen. They were permitted to see and converse with the young Bhurtpore Maharaja, and the little boy seemed for a moment to be quite happy in such society, after all the public exhibitions and State ceremonies to which he had recently been subjected.

The State jester was also present at the Durbar, and enlivened the gravity of the proceedings by the ridiculous account he gave of himself and his achievements. He personated the character of the Commander-in-Chief of the Bhurtpore armies, and made himself out to be a regular Bombastes. There were also other professional jesters who wander about visiting the Courts of the Native Chiefs in the Cis-Sutlej States. These men are capital mimics. They dress themselves up as soldiers, as merchants, as priests, as chiefs, in fact as all sorts of persons. In this feigned character the creature comes up to you, makes a profound salaam, and enters into conversation.

with you. Unless you happen to know the wretch, the chances are you are taken in. One of these men went the round of all the Courts of justice at Lahore: in one Court he would appear as a pleader, in another as a plaintiff, and so on. In one Court he impersonated to perfection an old woman screaming for justice. The officer was thoroughly deceived, and was about to pass an order on the complaint, when the joke was discovered!

When this Durbar was over the company parted, but to meet again the same evening and witness the fireworks at the Bhurtpore encampment. The display came off at the Motce Bagh or Pearl Garden which we have described already. In about an hour about £1,000 or 10,000 Rupees worth of fireworks were let off. There were little forts, which burst forth in a sham cannonade, and ultimately flew up with an explosion that shook the ground. There were squares like squares of infantry that kept up rattling fusillades for many minutes together. There were masses that kept shooting forth showers of balls of silvery light. There were rockets from the descending "rain" of which there issued forth little serpents of light that wreathed themselves into bright coils against the dark sky. Then there was that kind of firework in which natives so much delight, namely, the one which produces fountains of fire, and from which the sparkling light does, as it were, come bubbling up, and then flows over and passes along, just like the water of a natural fountain. The visitors viewed the spectacle from the gateway of the garden, having first descended from their elephant. Some of the elephants, that were raw to this kind of thing, rushed about a little and trumpeted forth from their trunks sounds of terror. But most of them stood fire very well.

After the fireworks the party proceeded to the Bhurtpore tents for supper. There were two enormous tents joined, each as large as a fine banquetting hall would be, and round them was a large enclosure walled in with canvas. The furniture of these tents exactly fulfilled the idea of barbaric magnificence. Both tents were furnished much alike. There were the chandeliers of colored Bohemian glass in the utmost abundance. The ceiling, as it were, seemed hung with them all over. whichever way the eye turned these were seen to hang. Then all round the apartments there were mirrors of every variety. in whichever direction the eye glanced the reflections of the mirrors seemed to prolong space indefinitely. Then, on tables placed against the wall, as it were, there were set lamps and candlesticks, and gold and silver ornaments of every kind. The centre of one tent was open, and had nothing except a few ottomans and divans. In the centre of one tent, however, there was a long table groaning under the weight

of glass, and gold ornaments, and "fancy articles" of every kind ; the appearance of these tents was indeed that of curiosity shops ; the things in them were almost entirely European. But the idea that such things should be in tents, and form half of the camp equipage of a Native Prince, rendered the sight curious, and in some respects interesting. The supper for the European guests was laid out entirely in the English fashion. It was wise not to attempt a repast in the Asiatic style ; the little Maharaja was not there, as his attendants decided that it would not do for him to be up so late at night.

The next day was Sunday, and the European gentlemen remained in their encampment. The native gentry, however, occupied themselves in visiting each other. Corteges with elephants and horses, and retainers, and pursuivants, and avant-couriers were moving about all day from one encampment to another. On the Monday morning a party of European gentlemen and Native Chiefs went out hawking. The hawk is a great favorite with Native Chiefs in that part of the country, and every native gentleman keeps some of these birds. Some are trained to catch the partridge, which latter is found abundantly in the low brush-wood which covers the waste ground in that neighborhood ; others are trained to catch hares. As the hare runs the hawk will swoop down upon it, and flap its wings in the hare's face, which confuses the hare considerably, when the dogs come up and make it an easy prey. Or sometimes the hawk will make a decisive swoop and fix its talons into the hare's head, and transfix the hare's eye with its sharp beak. The following day, however, the party went out to a neighboring place, which is the residence of the representatives of the Kythal family. This family are called "Bhaicee," which indicates high priestly rank among the Sikhs, and corresponds in meaning to "Fra" in Catholic countries. But the Kythal family always mixed largely in politics, and established a considerable principality, which, owing to the failure of direct lineal heirs, lapsed, some years ago, to the paramount power. The saying is, that half a century ago, when Runjeet Sing contemplated seizing the Cis-Sutlej principalities and adding them to the new kingdom of the Punjab, and when the threatened Chiefs proposed to make overtures to the British for protection, a meeting of the principal Chiefs was held to discuss this policy. At this meeting the Rajas of Puttiala, Jheend, Nabha, and the Bhaicee of Kythal were present, and these were the four principal men. The Kythal Bhaicee expressed his opinion in this wise—"My friends, 'it is a case of death for us either way, if we fall into the grip ' of Runjeet Sing we shall die sharp of Asiatic cholera : if we come ' under the shadow of the British, we shall pine away of slow

'consumption." Such is the native story. As regards Kythal, the Bhaee's own principality, the prophecy has turned out in a certain sense true, though the lapse of the Kythal principality was strictly in accordance with treaty and prescription. But as regards the other three, it has happily turned out contrary to the event, for all three, Puttiala, Jheend, and Nabha, are firmer now in their possessions than they were then. To return to the Kythal family, their collateral descendants live near Puttiala. The estate now held by them lies on the banks of the Guggur stream, along which bank there extends for miles a jungle of magnificent grass (called Punnee) five or six feet high, just like a vast field of sugar-cane. In this cover many sorts of animals live, wild hog, deer, antelopes, neelgye, hares, besides partridges innumerable. The way to beat this jungle is by lines of elephants, with the sportsmen in the howdahs. Sometimes a wild pig will break cover, sometimes a herd of deer, and sometimes both together. An excellent shot can be had from the elephants as the deers dash through the high grass with immense bounds: and when a goodly number of pig and deer get up together the bullets fly fast and thick. The Bhaee himself was out, he rides and shoots well, and is altogether an intelligent, well-educated, and agreeable man. On horseback he looks the very picture of a native gentleman. After the sport, the party reposed under the canopy afforded by the foliage of a great banyan tree.

The Puttiala festivities were concluded by a Durbar in the Bhurtpore tent, and the display of the bridal presents. The reader can imagine what a gorgeous effect the native dresses must have had among all the lavish richness of the furniture. On these occasions taste and arrangement are not to be expected. The effect, such as it is, is produced by an aggregate of the gaudiest colors and the richest materials. The little Maharaja sat this time on his own throne, and evinced much less shyness than might have been expected. The display of the bridal presents took place in the great quadrangle of the Puttiala Palace, and formed truly an extraordinary sight. The reader will remember our description of the size and spaciousness of this square. Well, the entire floor was covered with shawls, silks, embroideries, ornaments, and jewellery, narrow interstices merely being left for people to move about in. In the centre square were laid out the presents from the Maharaja to his daughter, corresponding to what we should call plate and wardrobe, and jewellery. besides this there were set out bags of Rupees amounting to three lakhs (£30,000). The value of all the presents, cash and other things, was computed by the attendants at five lakhs of Rupees (or £50,000). The

quadrangle could best be seen from the upper-rooms, and the sight of this spacious square—one mass of flaunting colors and glittering ornaments—gave one an exact idea of the Oriental style of magnificence. But besides this the floors, of the hall of audience and of the surrounding apartments were also covered with similar articles; these were presents to the bride from the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs; in one room would be the Jheend presents, in another the Nabha presents, and so on.

After viewing these the party adjourned to an upper-room, overlooking the outer quadrangle; and then the “live stock” presented to the bride began to defile before the company. A string of horses, in single file, marched past, about 250 in number—these were chiefly, if not entirely, of the Cis-Sutlej breed. This part of the country has always bred horses, and been famous for Sikh horsemen, the horses are all high and stout, with immense crests but they are coarse and have not much endurance; they would not be highly esteemed by Europeans. The horses now exhibited had all kinds of gilt and silver trappings and ornamental clothing. After the horses there came ponies of Himalayan breeds, from Ladakh, and Yarkund, and Cashmeer, and Afghanistan. Then came a string of fine camels, the breed of camels being excellent in this part of the country, and then a string of elephants, mostly from the Himalayan Hills north of Huidwar.

That evening all the presents were conveyed to the Bhurtpore camp. The Maharaja of Puttiala gave the whole camp a special feast, himself entertaining the principal persons. And the next day the great camp was in motion on its return to Bhurtpore. The little bride and bridegroom, however, were not exempt from the ills of humanity on the march, for they both caught small-pox, which, with children of that age, is a very dangerous complaint—they both fortunately recovered.

The Puttiala Maharaja certainly managed the monster hospitalities with great skill and success. His health was drunk by the European guests in regular British fashion. When he moved about the streets of his capital it was remarkable to see how the great crowd saluted him with an appearance of real devotion and loyalty. Native rulers may be inferior to us in administration, but they certainly secure a sort of personal veneration from their people, which European rulers never obtain from Asiatics. There is no mistaking the genial expression in the faces of a crowd, the very glistening of their eyes, the devout bending of the head, when they salute a Native Prince, especially on occasions like this one, when all their sentiments are aroused.

As already explained, the hospitalities were most extensive, and the cost to the Maharaja must have been very great. But

then each kinsman or friend, on such occasions, presents a marriage gift, called "Neota" or "Tumbôl," to the host. At such a time as this, these presents must have amounted to a large sum. But there was one kind of hospitality which the swell mob expected to receive at the hands of the Bhurtpore Maharaja. The custom has been in this wise—a gigantic enclosure, called a "Barha" is formed, the space marked off is surrounded by a wall of dry bush and bramble, ten feet high and proportionably thick, just one little narrow entrance, sufficient to admit one person at a time, is left, and this is strongly guarded. Into this enclosure there are congregated all the beggars, wanderers, blackguards, dancers, prize-fighters, professional thieves, pick-pockets, and miscellaneous ragtag and bobtail that can be found about the place. The reader can imagine what a number, how many thousands of such gentry, might be found on occasions of royal weddings. There is no prohibition against respectable men entering the enclosure, but of course no man, with the least regard for his character, would show his face there. On the other hand, the scum of society look forward to the Barha for months beforehand. Before this very occasion a number of bad characters who were under Police surveillance, and were not allowed to leave their homes without ticket of leave, applied to the Magistrate for such leave, and explained that they desired to enter the "Barha," which they presumed would be held at Puttiala. Well, when the "Barha" is ready on a fixed date, the motley assemblage is collected, and kept there for some hours till the place becomes as full as possible. Not a man who has entered is allowed to come out again till the fixed time, one would think that the whole thing was like the black hole, but these creatures like it. Then, at a fixed time, commences the exodus, one by one the people pass out, and as each man passes through the guarded opening, he is presented with one Rupee! And this Rupee is supposed to defray the cost, which the man has been put to, in maintaining himself for the period during which he has honored the place with his presence. Sometimes as much as a lakh of Rupees is paid away in this manner. A more ridiculous or wasteful expenditure cannot be conceived. The Native Chiefs fully understand the absurdity, but dare not, of their own motion, break the custom, for fear of being cursed by the beggars. When the young Raja of Nabha, whom we have already mentioned, was married, Mr. Barnes, the Commissioner, witnessed one of these "Barhas." Being much impressed with the folly of the thing, Mr. Barnes, on this occasion, advised the Maharaja of Puttiala to discountenance a Barha being held. Fortified by this advice, the Maharaja followed his own inclination

and set his face against the "Barha," and thus the scandal was avoided.

We thus conclude this brief account of the marriage ceremonies at Puttiala. If an artist had been there to depict the scenes, he might have found a dozen or more of highly characteristic subjects for the pencil. We have ventured to hope that the matter may have some interest to the general student of Indian life and customs. Sure we are, at all events, that the internal history of the Cis-Sutlej States is worthy the attention of the Indian politician. Before 1857, the protected Sikh States were bound to us by associations of half a century. During 1857 they thoroughly committed themselves to our cause, and have since been well rewarded. Probably there is not at this moment any part of India on which we have more right and reason to rely. These States again comprise the centre of the great clan of Malwa Sikhs. By this means a certain influence is secured over the Punjab. Again, the States are so situate that from them a political lever could be obtained, whereby, in emergency, to apply force to Hindostan. The independent Chiefs themselves have, of late years, greatly improved their administration after the European model. First, the boundaries of estates were marked off, and this prevented the recurrence of disputes which often led to bloodshed. More recently they have begun to measure the fields and cultivation, and to fix money assessment of the land-tax. At this present time a large part of the land-tax in Puttiala, Jheend, and Nabha is paid, not in kind, according to the old system, but in cash. They are establishing something like Courts of justice and improving the police administration. It is probable that the States of Puttiala, Jheend, and Nabha are administered nearly as well as the adjoining British districts. The country is flat, and would appear uninteresting to the travellers. But from the northern portions fine views of the Simla ranges of the Himalayas can always be obtained in the winter. But it is in the southern portion that historical and political interest centres. The history of the tract, before the Mogul era, is not known with any accuracy. The old fort of Bhutenda, (now in Puttiala territory,) one of the most imposing masses of architecture in all India, attests the fact that in that age there must have been a powerful sovereignty in this province. This structure is of astonishing proportion, and exceeds in size the fortress of Agra, or any of the Mogul fortresses. It is situate in the midst of an arid unproductive country, and being off the main lines of road, (though there is a commercial road running by it,) is not much visited by Europeans, but we venture to think that the most experienced of Indian travellers would be amazed at its magnitude. Well, it is near here that the birth-place and cradle of

the great Malwa Sikh clan is situate. The soil is dry, sandy, salubrious, possessing those qualities which, in Northern India, are known to favor the development of the human frame,—tall, manly, hardy men are always to be found in places of this sort. The locality has been called, with great truth and wit, *arida nutrix leonum*, which is exactly applicable, inasmuch as the Malwa Sikhs are designated Singhs or Lions. It was here that “Phool,” the common ancestor of all these princes, a wandering peasant from Rappootna, first began to occupy land. At that time the fiscal officer of the Mogul Governor at Lahore objected to “Phool’s” presence, and summarily evicted him. Soon afterwards, however, Phool returned with some stalwart relations, and firmly established himself there. As each village was founded, it produced some men who established a name or a family that afterwards became famous. Thus each village in that locality has a sort of historical association about it, and as the country is quite flat, the travellers ascending any one of the lofty houses or towers in this vicinity can descry several villages rising out of the plain, every one of which is connected with the subsequent history of the Cis-Sutlej States. The people have been distinguished for physique and agricultural industry rather than intellect or acuteness. When the last of the great Sikh prophets, Gooroo Govind, was travelling about, making converts to the politico-religious sect of the Sikhs, he specially favored this part of the country, probably finding that the simple people were more docile and more amenable to superstitious influences than elsewhere. It is near this that Mokut-Sur, or Tank of the Martyrs, one of those spots most venerated by the Sikhs, is situated. Many and many a solitary tree in the midst of the waste marks a spot where *the prophet rested after his wandering, and began to unfold his doctrine to wondering rustics. And many a village has traditions of the hairbreadth escapes of the holy man from the vengeance of Mogul officers. Even some jungles are shown where the hunted and much vexed prophet lay hid for a season. These recollections still survive, and were of great service to us when, in 1857, the Sikhs were invited to do battle against an upstart descendant of these very Moguls.

- ART. IX.—1. *Financial Statement by the Right Honorable James Wilson, delivered before the Legislative Council. 1860.*
2. *Exposition of New Taxes for information of Natives. Published by authority. 1860.*

WE have placed at the head of this Article the printed report of Mr. Wilson's Financial Statement. The delivery of that speech formed an era not only in the Finance of India, but also in the contemporary history of the Empire. The finances of India, both retrospective and prospective, were laid bare. Measures of taxation were proposed, which will have the effect of laying appropriate burdens on the richer classes, instead of putting a drag on the wheel of trade and industry. Other measures of great importance, such as the establishment of a new Currency; the formation of a real Finance Department, after the model of the Treasury and Exchequer in England; the organization of a Police, which may justify a positive reduction of the Native Army, were foreshadowed. The advantages of frank publicity in matters relating to imperial administration were recognized; and a generous appeal to public opinion was made. So far as the Bengal Presidency generally, and the European community of the capitals of Madras and Bombay are concerned, that appeal has been cordially responded to. Although the chief among the new taxes touches the Europeans directly, and, indeed, falls upon them more than any other tax could possibly fall, they have lent a warm support to the Queen's Government at this juncture, and set the best example to their Indian fellow subjects. Their conduct has indeed been truly disinterested and patriotic.

As every one knows, the three taxes proposed on that occasion were, *firstly*, an Income Tax; *secondly*, a Licensing of Arts, Trades, and Professions; *thirdly*, a Tax on Tobacco. For the two first taxes, namely, Income Tax and Licences, the Bills were read a second time at the meeting of the Legislative Council on the 14th April. These Bills must accordingly be now under the consideration of Select Committees of the Council, and will, apparently, be passed finally within a month from that date. From the printed draft of the Income Tax Bill, we observe that the Act is to come in force from May. It would seem probable that a similar date will be assigned to the Licence Bill. No Bill for the Tobacco Tax has yet been presented to the Council. As these three taxes form one of the main topics of the day, we shall endeavor briefly to discuss their main principles, without fatiguing our readers with unnecessary details.

But as it has been said that the Financial Crisis might be met by means of reduced expenditure alone, without the imposition of new taxes, we shall premise with a few remarks on that point. The year 1856-7 was a favorable period, financially, that is to say, the Government just managed to make both ends meet. Its revenues were tolerably abundant; its expenditure not excessive. And now Indian economists harp upon that expenditure, and desire to return to it. The expenditure of 1856-7 is fast becoming a political cry, just as the expenditure of 1835 was long the cry of the Ultra-economists and Peace-at-any-price Party in England. Every one knows how delusive the hopes of that party in this respect have proved to be. If similar hopes shall ever arise in India, they will, we fear, be equally disappointed. We believe that for some years to come the expenditure of the Empire will not come down to any thing approaching the standard of 1856-7; and we fear that it will never again be reduced quite down to that point. Our readers will readily believe that no reductions in the purely Civil Departments are possible. The salaries of the Covenanted Service no longer constitute a matter of class-interest, or exclusive patronage. The competition system has brought the prospects of the Indian Civil Service into the English market. Intellectual fitness is, like other things, a marketable article. If the Queen's Government wishes (as doubtless it must wish) to secure first-rate young men for the Indian Civil Services from the schools and colleges of the United Kingdom, then a certain scale of advantages must be held out. The competition system has been under trial for some four years: and, though excellent young men have come out to this country, still it is evident that the existing salaries are only just sufficient to attract first-rate English talent from the educational institutions of the mother country. Unless, therefore, the salaries were kept up, it is doubtful whether the men whom Government would desire to have could be had. The salaries of the Uncovenanted Services are almost sure, on the whole, to be raised, as the field of employment is fast extending, as more and more opportunities are opening, and as the qualifications of the Officers themselves are advancing proportionably. No doubt the various civil contingencies may be checked and reduced; and purely ministerial establishments might be prevented from increasing. But it is notorious, even in this branch of expenditure, that the salaries of native ministerial officials are too low to secure honesty and fidelity. Then the doing away with the defective organization of the Police, and the substitution of a really organized Police, will be sure to add

to civil expenditure: although the measure may enable Government to reduce the Native Army. Then all additional expenditure in the Educational Department has been stopped for some time, yet every well-wisher to the progress of the native population will desire that this restriction may be relaxed as soon as the Finances may permit. Here again some increase of expenditure may be looked for. Then it is sufficient to barely mention Public Works, which have unavoidably been starved for some time past. In this Department the necessities of the country cry aloud for increased expenditure as soon as it shall be possible. Then let it be remembered that since the favorite epoch of 1856-7, the interest of the Indian Debt has been increased by *two* millions annually. Here is a downright addition which no skill can obviate, no economy avoid.

Then as to military expenditure,—in this controversial age, when no two opinions agree on certain subjects, there is one point on which absolute unanimity reigns in the minds of all Englishmen, namely, the increase to the European Army. But as there is no object so necessary, so also there is none so expensive. Not only will the disbursements of pay be great, but the Commissariat will be most expensive. And the increase of Europeans will surely produce the effect it has invariably produced heretofore, namely, a great rise in prices. The deduction from experience is, that it will, in future, cost much more to maintain an European soldier in India than heretofore. There will, at the same time, be a vast increase of artillery, ordnance stores, and material to be reckoned on. Doubtless a really great reduction of the Native Troops is to be expected, but then such reduction will never counterbalance the increase to the European Force; and against this reduction the increased cost of the organized and quasi-military Police (without the formation of which the Native Army cannot be reduced,) will operate as a partial set-off. Moreover, whatever reductions may be managed, cannot take effect at once. There are obvious political objections to hasty and inconsiderate reduction of Native Troops and Levies. Mr. Wilson, in his speech to the Legislative Council, on the 14th April, gave a remarkable instance of the practical difficulty of giving immediate effect to proposed reductions. Even the able and energetic Government of Madras, which was most earnest in the matter of reductions, and proposed to effect great diminution, found itself unable to carry out its intentions for many months. But in his speech before the Legislative Council, on the 21st April, Mr. Wilson showed the reductions in the military expenditure within the last two years. These have indeed been great—three and a half millions already have been reduced, one and a

half are being reduced, one more is expected to be reduced, and perhaps one more after that. In all six or seven millions of reduction. This would bring the expenditure down by about one-third from its highest limit, and to about fourteen or thirteen millions per annum. But even this minimum will be two millions in excess of the eleven millions which used to be the cost of the Army before 1857. There must evidently be a permanent addition to our military expenditure of two or three millions per annum in consequence of the events of 1857.

The most cursory glance at the above points will show that a return to the expenditure of 1856-7 is impossible. The English Government at Home is, in intention at least, notoriously economical. No thinking man can doubt that an English Statesman of Mr. Wilson's stamp will reduce expenditure to the lowest point compatible with efficiency. But we do not see how he can, do what he may, retire within the limit which existed before the Mutinies. But even in that year, and in the most favorable cycles of financial years, our income did not do much more than cover expenditure. In times of profound peace both ends did certainly meet. But the moment that any trouble arose this meeting was rudely parted; and when the rent became dangerously wide, a new loan was opened. In England, when a Chancellor of the Exchequer has fixed the expenditure side of his Budget, he can consider his ways and means, and, if necessary, lay on the requisite taxes. Again, if one tax is found to be unduly detrimental, it can be lightened or abolished, and another one can be substituted. But heretofore the income of the Indian Government has known no such elasticity. If the deficit is great, the only known stop-gap is a loan. If a particular tax is felt to have a depressing effect, still relief cannot be afforded, because there is no other conceivable tax to fall back upon: no new resource to be hoped for. Yet none can doubt that, if some of the existing taxes could be safely mitigated, industry and wealth would increase. The tendency of late years has been to reduce the assessment of the land revenue in many parts of India: wherever such reduction has taken place the increase of cultivation has been remarkable. The reduction of assessments in some of the Madras districts caused an immediate increase of cultivation, and reduced the emigration of coolies to Ceylon, to the dismay of the coffee planters in that island. Any loss or trouble to the coffee interest is of course greatly to be regretted; but we merely point to the fact to show the decisive consequences which follow a reduction of land revenue. Instances of the benefit of reduction of land-tax might be multiplied from all parts of the Bengal Presidency. Then

Mr. Wilson has clearly shown now that the high rates of Customs Duties can be reduced with advantage.

Again, it has been stated that doubts are entertained in some quarters regarding the existence of a large deficit at the present time. We fear that unfortunately not the least room for any such doubt exists. Would indeed that there were! It does indeed seem to be *primâ facie* impossible to avoid the conclusion that there must be a deficiency at least as great as that declared by Mr. Wilson. The calculation which brought out a deficit of six millions appears to be based on the best data available. The *actual* expenditure of the previous year was taken, from that were deducted *all* decreases which could be relied upon or could be reasonably expected. And still there results the deficit. So that *if* all promises of reduction are fulfilled, *if* all hopes are realized, there will still be a deficit *even at the best*. But supposing that some expectations remain unfulfilled, (and every one experienced in public affairs knows how fallacious such expectations often prove to be,) then the deficit will be even greater than that stated. Doubtless a more certain conclusion can be drawn as soon as the Budget, promised by the late Financial Resolution, shall have been framed. But the existence of a large deficit, more or less, is proved not only by figures, but by all probability, and by a variety of collateral considerations.

The uncertainty of the opium revenue has so long been a favorite theme with Indian publicists, that the bare mention of the topic is enough in this place. The opium revenue is still buoyant, the last sales were highly profitable: but the culture of the poppy has been legalized in China. John-Chinaman will soon be in the field against John-ryot. And the wolf, which has so long been prophesied, may come at last.

Again, whatever may have been said to the contrary, we believe in the growing prosperity of the country. An Indian Porter has not yet arisen to chronicle the progress of the nation. But so far as the force of particular statistics and general considerations can go, we may attest the correctness of Mr. Wilson's impressions regarding the material prosperity of India. Some exception has been taken to Mr. Wilson's comparison of the North-West Provinces with Belgium. But we suspect that many North-Westerners will accept the compliment as true. The other day we observed a statement in General Sleeman's Tour through Oude, from which it appears that those parts of the old kingdom which were incorporated in the North-West Provinces half a century ago, have doubled in revenue within that period. Then is not the increase of cultivation under the permanent settlement of Bengal quite notorious?

Does not the new survey show how the lands, waste according to the returns of Lord Cornwallis' time, are now under the plough? Do not the reports of Eastern Bengal speak volumes for the growth of the water traffic? Is not the face of the Hooghly covered from morn till eve with boats? Then the deeply interesting Minutes of Sir Charles Trevelyan's Tour in the Madras Presidency show the vitality and prosperity of the people in the Southern Peninsula. The external commerce of India generally is doubling in every decade. The increase is proportionately much the same in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. And then there is Kurrachee, promising to become the new Calcutta. Every census that has yet been taken in India points to the conclusion that the population is fast increasing. On the whole, then, we may have a good hope that the Empire will prove to be elastic under pressure; and that by the application of sound political economy to our Finance, some additional resources might be obtained for the State without interfering with that prosperity, which it must ever be the object of the British Government to cherish and promote.

Every one of the points urged would require to be supported by details in order to be thoroughly made good. But such details would not be interesting to the general reader. If these points, however, have been at all correctly indicated, then certainly it does seem that to return to the expenditure of 1856-7 is impossible; that even if that limit could be restored, it would not be satisfactory, that the existing deficit must be met by other means than loans; that the existing taxes require to be reduced rather than enhanced; that in the present condition of the country some new taxation is possible, if it were judiciously imposed. There are no data available to us whereby the exact amount required, or the period over which the deficit may extend, can be computed. But it seems certain that several millions, perhaps five or six millions additional revenue for sometime to come, will be absolutely needed. If, then, this sum is to be supplied by new taxes, there comes the question as to how they should be laid on.

Now, it is obvious to remark, that the resources of Indian taxation are not very numerous. Nothing more can be hoped for at present from the land-tax: if irrigation shall be improved and cultivation extend, the profit will be a matter of time. The Sea Customs Duties have already been raised to the utmost limit of safety. Stamp Duties are being already extended as much as possible—this branch of revenue is no doubt elastic, but it cannot afford any very great aid to the State. The Salt Tax is already considerable over all parts of the country: an increase of it is said to be

practicable in the Madras Presidency ; but here again nothing very great can be expected. The excise on drugs and spirits is already pitched high : if it were raised much more it would become prohibitory. Transit duties, though a favorite device with native Government, are very objectionable, being oppressive, and detrimental to trade. Octroi duties, though popular in some parts of the country, are fitted for municipal rather than imperial purposes—if carried too far, they would affect trade in a hundred ways. The same objection applies to customs lines on the frontiers of the Empire. A succession tax would no doubt be a very fair impost : but it would be gradual in its operation, and would not yield much. The succession duties imposed in England have proved very unproductive : in India, too, the tax would be much evaded on personal property, and would consequently fall almost entirely on real property. A tax on equipages, horses, and the like, would certainly not be productive in this country, as these things are not used in sufficient abundance. A tax on houses and windows would, no doubt, be practicable, but it is already imposed in many parts of the country for Police purposes. If it were enhanced, the assessment of it would be difficult, and the incidence unequal. It is evident, then, that most, if not all, the taxes which suggest themselves from Indian experience, would prove inadequate to the immediate wants of the Empire, besides being impolitic in practice.

Now Mr Wilson has, avoiding all these expedients, determined to meet the crisis by imposing three new taxes, namely, the Income Tax, the Excise on Tobacco, the Licensing of Arts, Trades, and Professions. And we now propose to consider very briefly how far these measures answer the requirements of the time : how far they are likely to supply the State with the funds so imperatively needed : how far they press in fair proportion on rich and poor : how far they are free from any injurious tendency to depress industry or shackle trade : how far they avoid undue interference with the habits and customs of the people.

The first of the three taxes now proposed is the Income Tax. This impost has been familiar to all Englishmen as furnishing a mighty engine in time of any emergency, and supplying the means which enable the Governors to remit duties which press upon industry. It is well known that, since the introduction of that tax, the incomes derived from industry of all kinds, and classed under Schedule D, corresponding to Schedule 3 in the Indian Bill, have actually doubled. On the 14th April Mr. Wilson showed how the condition of clerks has improved in England, and predicted similar good fortune for the class of

clerks in India—the Income Tax notwithstanding. So also for India generally, one main advantage of the Income Tax appears to be this, that it interferes with nothing in particular, depresses no kind of industry, fetters no branch of trade. Most taxes that could be thought of do produce one or other of those effects, but the Income Tax does not. If a consumer has to pay an excise on an article, he may consume less, and the production is affected. If a customer has to pay a heavy customs duty on an article he may take less of it, and thus the importation is affected. But an Income Tax is paid from a man's general resources: and if it be moderate, it cannot be said to affect his consumption of any particular thing whatever. However unpopular a tax of this kind may be, it certainly will not hinder the growth of national prosperity: and this is surely an immense point. Then, again, the Income Tax is one of the few taxes that passes over the poor and falls on those who are rich, and are comparatively well to do; while it is at the same time really productive to the State. If a duty falls on an article used by the rich alone (such as equipages), it will not yield much. If it fall on an article of very general use, then, while it yields much, it falls absolutely as much on the poor as the rich; and relatively to the respective means of the parties, it falls much more heavily on the poor. Then the Income Tax is one that can be apportioned with precise justice to each person's means. It is sometimes said, thoughtlessly, that such and such districts, or such and such classes are too poor to be subjected to Income Tax. But if a district is impoverished, it will, from the very nature of the tax, pay but little. If a man has less than his neighbors, why, he will of course pay less Income Tax: while under any other duty, he would probably have had to pay just as much as others. Then, although the Income Tax, no doubt, has a forbidding aspect in the eyes of natives, still the strict impartiality with which it falls on all classes, European and Native, official and non-official alike, cannot fail to mitigate unpopularity. There is nothing like class legislation in the matter; no exemption of officials, no sacrifice of native to European interests. The financial crisis affects all: and all are interested in the stability of the Government, therefore all contribute to support the burden according to their means—the poorer classes being alone exempted. Such we conceive are some of the arguments by which the policy of an Income Tax may be justified.

Then as to the Bill itself, which is now before the public in the form which it bore at the second reading. The parts and sections in it are numerous—and will appear at first sight to be intricate. Those portions, however, which affect the mass of the

tax-payers, and tax-collectors, are simple enough. But in such places as the Presidency Towns, various questions might and doubtless will arise, for which provision must be made. The law advisers of Government therefore appear to us to have done quite right in availing themselves of English legal and practical experience in rendering the Act complete in all respects. As our readers know, the duty is to be levied on all incomes derived from four main sources: namely (Schedule 1), real property; (2) personal property, trades and professions; (3) public funds; (4) official salaries. Incomes under 200 Rupees annually are to be exempted. Incomes from 200 Rupees to 500 are to be taxed at 2 per cent. Incomes of 500 Rupees and upwards are to be taxed at 4 per cent, of which 1 per cent will be for public works, and will be specially administered by Local Committees. Except the said 1 per cent, all the other duties will be for the general service of Government. Power is taken to extend the operation of the Act for five years, from May 1860.

There are one or two main points on which a few words will not be out of place here. The Act provides that the main spring of the machinery in all the districts in the interior shall be the ordinary Collector, and that all existing fiscal districts shall be made use of for the purposes of this Act. By this plan the working of the scheme will be simple and easily intelligible to the people. The whole thing will be managed quietly, without any administrative paraphernalia, through officials to whom the people are accustomed, and by processes with which they are familiar. With the Collector there are to be associated two or three officers, (in the same way, we presume, as Local Committees are now formed,) and one or two non-official persons. In most districts the non-official member will in practice be a native. The association of such a person with the Collector ought to inspire the natives with confidence in the scheme. On every ground we advocate the vesting native gentlemen with administrative functions, wherever they are found to possess the requisite qualifications. In the Presidency Towns, instead of a Collector and his Committee, there will be a board of Income Tax Commissioners, of whom a fixed proportion will be non-official. In every place, whether in town or country, there will be an officer appointed to make special assessment whenever the parties desire it. A man may dislike, for particular reasons, to make a return before the Collector and the Commissioner. Therefore he may make his return and be assessed by a special officer, with every precaution for secrecy. Indeed, in this, as in all other points, the Bill makes stringent provisions for secrecy. The officers of all grades employed are sworn not to divulge any particulars. A breach of this oath is

punishable criminally. This would preclude them, we presume, from divulging even to Government. All records, &c., are to be sealed up.

The superior revenue authorities are to arrange for the disposal of the records. It will, we apprehend, be desirable that all these papers be destroyed periodically. The Act, as it stands at present, appears to provide very carefully for the prevention of anything like an inquisitorial process. In this respect it goes even beyond the English Act. In England a man may be asked questions, though he may decline to answer, and may be called on to produce his books, though he may refuse to do so. But by the Indian Act questions will *not* be asked; and books will *not* be called for. Every man is to make a return of his income under a sealed cover. A man will either be assessed according to his own return, in that case nothing further takes place, until the time for payment comes—or a man may be assessed at a sum in excess of his return, in that case he will be informed. If he submits, well and good. If he objects, then he may be heard before the Collector and the Committee (or the Income Tax Commissioners, if in Presidency Towns). Then he can say what he likes, and produce what papers he likes. The Committee will listen to what he chooses to say; and will look at whatever paper he chooses to show; and they will then exercise their own judgment. If he succeeds in showing that he ought to pay less than the amount first assessed, then he would be relieved accordingly. If he failed to do this, then the assessment would hold good. The *onus probandi* rests on him. The assessing officer will judge as he best can, from his own knowledge, from general considerations and probability, and from the facts adduced by the Magistrate himself. But no paper or book will be inspected, or business investigated, except such as the party himself may voluntarily bring forward. Obviously it would be impossible to frame provisions more considerate to the tax-payers than these: or to carry precautions against inquisitorial procedure further than these. Indeed, so far have they been carried, that sometimes the assessing officer will be obliged to make a somewhat conjectural assessment. 'Still in a matter of this kind it is well to err if there be error at all on the side of consideration to the tax-payers. Inquisition in this matter would be more unpopular in the natives even than with Europeans. And the entire avoidance of this will do much to popularize the introduction of the measure. Parties are to be allowed to compound for a fixed sum, progressively increasing one-twentieth per annum on the original assessment, for terms of three or five years. Incomes derived from the land

are to be taxed, if they exceed the minimum of Rs. 200. In many provinces, when the land is held by a peasant proprietary, there will be very few persons who come under the rule. For the profits of a landholder have been considerably assumed at 50 per cent. on the annual revenue—so, that, unless a man is paying so large an amount of land revenue as 400 Rupees, he will not be supposed to have a profit of Rs. 200 : and even then it will be open to him, if he likes, to adduce special proof that he has less. In Northern India, in most parts of Bombay, in the ryotwaree districts of Madras, there will not be many landholders paying income tax. In the permanently settled districts of Bengal and the Benares province, and Madras, the zemindars will be assessed according to their actual income from their estates. Many of these gentry will, no doubt, come under the Income Tax. and as they are the most fortunate class in India, they are certainly fair subjects of taxation. The business of the tax will no doubt add to the labors of the Collectors. but the work of assessment will not be constant, and will come round once a year only. They are in respect of local influence and knowledge, and administrative resources, the fittest agency for the execution of this important measure. Any other agency that could be selected would create an *imperium in imperio*, within each district, and establish a concurrent, perhaps a conflicting, jurisdiction. Such arrangements are always perplexing to the people, and weaken the force of any measure. The Collector will have a Committee to assist him : and there will be a special officer to try the more troublesome cases. The Bill provides for salaries, such as may be found proper, being allowed by Government, and we presume that the Collector will be able to employ such extra establishment as he requires. Indeed the Bill provides expressly that the Assessors shall be appointed by the Collector. We presume that the Assessors will be generally native officials of a class similar to the Tehseeldars in the North-West Provinces. Such generally are the provisions of the Bill as it stands at the second reading, and at this time of writing. But it is now before a Select Committee of the Council, and of course alterations may be made by them.

It is really vain at the present time to speculate on the amount which the Income Tax may be expected to yield. We have heard various calculations made with results equally various. The lowest calculation puts down one million or one crore, and the highest three crores. If the State Exchequer shall receive two crores a year from this source, it will be tolerably fortunate, but there really are no reliable data.

The next tax is that of the Licences. Every person exercising an art, trade, or profession, is to take out an annual licence. After the experience of Mr. Harington's Bill any attempt at graduation is avoided. Such classification as is attempted is to be of the simplest kind. Artisans are to pay one Rupee, retail dealers two Rupees and four Rupees, wholesale dealers, bankers, and members of professions ten Rupees. These licences are to be paid by all persons who come under the above designation, and the tax is apparently to be permanent. With the upper and middle classes the licence will not be felt. With the lower classes it will be the contribution which they are to make to the fiscal requirements of the State. It has been said that it will be difficult to define what persons belong to the several classes respectively which are mentioned in the Bill as it stood at the second reading. Whatever defects there may be in the definition can be amended by the Select Committee to which the Bill has been referred. The objection is, we believe, theoretical rather than practical. In practice the Collector will soon settle which man should in justice pay one Rupee, which man should pay two Rupees, and so on. The impost is not heavy, and, like the Income Tax, does not press on any particular industry, nor interfere with any particular trade. It will not of course be popular. But it is notorious that similar taxes (Mohturfa and Visabadee) have, from ancient times, been collected in the Madras Presidency. And very recently this very Licence Tax was introduced peacefully and successfully in all the villages of the Punjab Territories, and partially in Oude also. Moreover, under Native Rule, these same classes are always subjected to direct taxation of one kind or other, which taxes have generally been remitted under British Rule. It is now high time that the lower non-agricultural class should bear its share in the burdens of the country.

The third tax is the Tobacco Duty. The arguments in favor of this tax were well summed up by Mr. G. Campbell in his pamphlet on the Finances of India. The tobacco plant is grown more or less in all parts of India. The consumption of the article, though not universal, is very extensive among all classes, yet it is not a necessary absolutely; but really partakes of the character of a luxury. It cannot be called a necessary, when the Sikhs, who are physically the finest race in India, do altogether without it. It is not likely that a moderate duty would perceptibly interfere with the consumption. No doubt a heavy duty, such as eight annas a seer, might have this effect, and might produce discontent. But it has now been clearly explained all over the country that the duty is not to exceed three annas a seer. The real difficulty in the matter is the mode

of levying the duty, and the details of the measure have not yet been presented to the public. In the mean time various methods have been discussed publicly; and to some of these we shall very briefly advert: the most easy and obvious method is to levy the duty on the cultivation itself. In most parts of India we have complete field surveys which are annually revised. Doubtless, every acre of ground under tobacco cultivation can be perfectly known. To levy a duty thereon would be quite easy. But then the tax would take the form of a direct impost on the land which already pays land tax. This may be objectionable, though the objection is perhaps apparent rather than real. And then arrangements would have to be made to prevent illicit importation of tobacco grown in neighboring native states, which, being untaxed, would be brought into our territories, and would drive our home-grown tobacco out of our markets. Unless this could be prevented, it were certainly better not to impose a duty which could only have the effect of transferring the growth of tobacco from our own territory to that of the neighboring Native States. In Bengal Proper this difficulty would not perhaps be felt; as that province is not mixed up with Native States where tobacco is grown. But it would be felt in those parts of the North-West Provinces which adjoin Central India, and in those parts of the Punjab which are interlaced with protected Sikh States and other Principalities. In the Bombay Presidency the territories of the Guicowar and the Nizam are in immediate contact with most of our districts. And many of the Madras Districts are in contiguity with the Mysore and Hyderabad Territories. The smuggling of tobacco then would have to be carefully guarded against. And this could not be done by the establishment of preventive lines. Such lines do indeed answer very well when the frontier is tolerably straight; and when the articles are bulky. Many of our readers will have heard of the great customs hedge, made of bushes and brambles, which exists on the North-West line, and extends, for many miles, like a Chinese wall. This may be effectual enough to keep out articles like salt or sugar, which, if brought at all, will be brought in large quantities. But tobacco smugglers, who operate along a frontier running not in a straight line, but in a series of minute zig-zags, and who carry the article in small quantities on their heads or about their persons, will not be kept out by a Chinese wall. Moreover, the smuggling would be so profitable that the smuggler could well afford to be caught now and then. The difficulty is indeed considerable, though we believe that, with good arrangements, it may be met. Then it has been proposed to manage the Tobacco Duty on the same plan as that by which the excise on drugs and spirits is

managed. This is, no doubt, quite feasible. The exclusive privilege of dealing in tobacco would be sold by auction, and all producers and all consumers would be obliged to deal with the Government contractor. The competition is supposed to keep up the price of the contract. It would then become the contractor's interest to prevent smuggling, and as he would possess much knowledge of the trade, and of the habits of the smugglers, he would no doubt be able to check illicit practices. Thus, from motives of self-interest, the contractor becomes a sort of preventive officer. This plan then does, to a great extent, obviate the objection to which other plans are open, namely, the difficulty of preventing illicit practices. But this method would not render the tax so productive as it might be otherwise. The absence of any fixed duty causes great uncertainty as to the productive power of the duty. A large share, none can say how large a share, goes to the contractor. And thus, while the people pay a great deal, the whole does not go to the State. The fiscal profit is not proportionate to the sacrifices which the tax-payers make. Another method would be a Government monopoly. This is of course feasible, and may think it the best plan. It would certainly be productive: though it would entail much administrative trouble. Probably the best plan will be one that shall partake partly of the character of monopoly, partly the character of the contract system, but which shall ensure the amount of State revenue by means of a fixed duty. The cultivator might be obliged to dispose of the tobacco either to a licensed contractor, or to a Government establishment. The contractor might take out a pass for all the tobacco he received, and might be placed under excise supervision. And he might pay a fixed rate of duty for all the tobacco he sold to retail dealers or others. In case there should be an insufficiency of contractors or wholesale dealers, or in case these persons should combine either to evade the Government duty, or to deprive the cultivator of a fair market, Government ware-houses or depôts might be established, where the tobacco might be received from the cultivator at a fair price, and then sold to retail dealers at a price sufficient to cover the prescribed duty. The wholesale dealer may not have so strong an interest in stopping illicit practices as a contractor would have under the competition system. But the wholesale dealer would have a considerable interest in the matter, and so far would assist the excise authorities. And then, after all, the Collector could do something through his own establishments for the prevention of smuggling. The arrangements would vary in different districts; but some arrangement or other could always be made. And it is

probable that adjoining Native Independent States might often be induced to introduce a Tobacco Tax of their own similar to ours. And then there would be no danger of British grown tobacco being undersold.

A system not very dissimilar to this has been adopted by the Bengal Government for the tax on the Gunja (an intoxicating drug,) produced in the Rajshaye district. And now the duty is yielding three times as much as it used to yield under the competition system.

It has been proposed to include "pân" or "betel-leaf" in the same category with tobacco—and certainly the same arguments apply to the one article as the other. The pân is largely cultivated in Bengal, in Southern India, and in parts of Northern India also. The peculiar appliances necessary to protect the leaf from the sun (the enclosure of grass and sticks; the sticks up which the plant is trained to grow; the flat roof over the enclosure,) render the culture easily distinguishable. Whatever system shall answer for tobacco, would answer equally well for "pân."

Such then briefly are the new Taxes. That they are necessary has been clearly proved. That they will not prove oppressive has been shown with such argument as the case admits of. That they will be successfully levied may be reasonably hoped. An exposition for the information of natives has been published, so that there may be no misapprehension of the intentions of Government. We may trust that the natives will profit by the good example set by their European fellow-subjects, and will support the Government under whose protection they live; and that all classes will unite in cheerfully bearing a share of the burden imposed by State necessity, remembering that when such a great deliverance from imminent danger has been recently vouchsafed to the country, some temporary sacrifice in time of peace need hardly be grudged.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

JUNE, 1860

ART. I.—*Up Among the Pandies, or a Year's Service in India.*
By Lieutenant VIVIAN DERING MAJENDIE. London: Routledge. 1859.

WE again take up our pen to recount briefly some of the incidents of the final taking of Lucknow, a task which at this time may seem to be superfluous, indeed it is now a thrice-told tale; still as seen by different observers, there may even yet be something novel in the incidents we may narrate.

In a large part of the book now before us, we have a very spirited description of the operations on the other side of the Goomtee, during the siege of Lucknow, and as our own experiences took place on the Lucknow side of the river we hope with Lieutenant Majendie's aid, to present such a view of the siege, as may help to interest our readers even now, tired though they may be. We are however afraid that when they see the word Lucknow, they will not take the trouble of cutting the leaves in which this narrative is written, but with a faint hope that they may even yet find something new in our account which is principally a personal one, we begin our story assisted by our author whose descriptive powers are of no mean order.

It will be recollected by our readers, that after relieving Lucknow, Sir Colin Campbell, leaving Sir James Outram at Alumbaugh advanced and retook Cawnpore, then in the hands of the Gwalior Contingent. He then advanced in the direction of Futteghurh trying to quell the mutiny, as he advanced. He then with a very large force composed principally of Europeans, commenced in the beginning of March to concentrate his forces upon Lucknow, and on the 2nd March 1858, he marched past the Alumbaugh on to the Dilkoosha, with a part of his force consisting of ten troops of Artillery, some Cavalry and 6 Regiments of Infantry, the 34th, 38th, 42nd, 53rd, 93rd, and Coke's Rifles.

We happened to be at the Alumbaugh, when he marched past and a most imposing sight it was, although a good deal

obscured by a heavy shower of rain ; in a few minutes we found that instead of halting as we expected near Jellalabad ~~he~~ marched on in the direction of the Dilkoosha, and in a few minutes more we were surprised to hear the firing of musketry and artillery and in the evening we ascertained that he had reached the Dilkoosha capturing two guns and having only a few wounded, and thus auspiciously commenced the first part of the siege of Lucknow.

The force which in a few days collected round Lucknow was probably the largest force, as regards the European element, that had ever been seen at one place in India, and truly formed a most imposing spectacle. The total number of troops we see, by a foot note of Lieutenant Majendie's, was estimated at 26,520 of all ranks, European and native in our service and 6,000 or 8,000 Ghoorkas, so that we had at the least a force of over 30,000 fighting men.

We see that Lieutenant Majendie adopts the prevalent opinion when he designates the Ghoorkas as useless, but it is a great mistake to suppose as some have done from what they have seen of them at Lucknow, that they are cowardly and useless as soldiers. Lieutenant Majendie has hit upon some of the truth, but not the whole truth regarding them when he says. "I fully believe however, that had these men been led by English officers, they would have done their work as well and pluckily as did their countrymen at Delhi, and that to the misconduct of the native officers, which I have often heard spoken of in no measured terms, together with their prevailing want of discipline, may be mainly attributed the shortcomings of this auxiliary force." Page 192.

That the cowardice of some of the native leaders and the want of discipline among their followers may have had something to do with the avowed inefficiency of this force, is probable, but these are after all in our opinion not the main reasons, which could make a people who defied us so strenuously in the Nepal War and who lately in their war with Thibet, had the best of it, so useless as they seem to have been to us at the taking of Lucknow. One thing, the same class of men in our own service, have shewn us unmistakeably, is, that they do not want pluck.

To what then can their inefficiency have been owing? We believe principally to those causes, their intense bigotry as Hindoos, their hatred of us as Europeans, and the mistake of giving a few European officers command over them. As to their bigotry it is of the most intense kind, and I have little doubt but that the killing of their co-religionists especially in the service of a state, which they the nobility and soldiery hate, had a good deal to do with their inefficiency.

The proper plan would have been to give Jung Bahadoor the quieting of a district, and to have put it all in his own hands, and allowed him to quell the insurrection after his own fashion, without the control of European officers whose knowledge of them and their language must have been defective, although the officers themselves were all that could be desired for courage and ability with troops drilled and trained by Europeans.

These soldiers from Nepal, were called Ghoorkas, but it is not generally known that the Ghoorkas by no means constitute the Nepalese Army, for the Ghoorka army is composed principally of Mongolians, the Gurungs and Magars of the hills, while the Ghoorkas, the upper ten thousand of Nepal, are descended from the Rajpoots of the plains and although the ruling power, do not by any means constitute the whole, or perhaps even the half of the army of Nepal. Probably among our so-called Ghoorka regiments there is scarcely a Ghoorka, but they are we suspect principally composed of Gurungs and Magars.

But to continue, as we did not arrive before Lucknow until the morning of the 11th March we quote from our author's spirited description of the state of affairs before Lucknow on the 3rd March when he accompanied the main body of the army to the Dilkoosha.

"Allons en avant mes braves;" we leave Jellalabad some miles in our rear, and at last about ten A. M. we receive orders to halt and encamp. We do so, and then in spite of the fatigue consequent on our long night march, we stroll out to the front of the ridge where our camp is situated, to look at the view.

What do we see? Immediately beneath us the florid and gilded Dilkoosha. (Heart Delight,) a strangely fantastic looking domicile it is too—built apparently—of nothing but domes, and arches and points and peaks, and cupolas in endless and bewildering variety, and reminding one of those crowded collections of chimney pots, which one sees exposed for sale in London. Behind it are groups of Highlanders, musket in hand; and close by it is a battery of heavy guns which is carrying on a duel with the "Martiniere," that immense and very extraordinary establishment by the river's bank among the trees. Martine, the liberal founder of this place, must have had some odd notions of his own on the subject of architecture, or possibly he may have been possessed of the noble idea of cutting out the Dilkoosha; in which case I must admit that he has succeeded, for even that very peculiar building must yield the palm in point of outlandishness to the Martiniere. A faint pop popping of rifles is going on between the advanced pickets; varied by the heavy boom of a mortar or 18-pounder. Every now

and then a little puff of white smoke issues from the Martiniere, and while we are watching the fury cloud expand, curling up, and fading away in the blue sky over head, we hear a rushing sound like the concentrated essence of express trains passing at full speed; we duck—yes! I confess it—we duck involuntarily as a something lodges with a dull heavy thud in the bank behind us, and warns us that we have advanced a little too far in our eagerness to see the view. To our right lies the river Goomtee, winding about serpent-like, in a great open green plain, fringed with dark trees. This evening our engineers will commence constructing a bridge of boats across it.

Beyond the Martiniere which lies directly to our front, we can see the golden minarets and gay domes of Lucknow, with a few snow white buildings, and some red roofs gleaming and glittering among the bright green trees, which, by their pleasant fresh colour, set off picturesquely the much painted temples and bright looking houses, and give a sort of relief to the otherwise almost too glowing scene. We cannot see much of the fair city, but we can see enough to excite in a high degree our admiration and interest and our longing to be inside it “page 148 to 150.”

We need scarcely relate how after being pretty well shelled the Martiniere fell into our hands on the 9th March, the brave Highlanders rushing after the retreating foe, and occupying it with little loss.

A good story is told of the Highlanders while before the Martiniere: some of them observed that the sepoy generally went away in the heat of the day about 12 o'clock. This set our Highlanders a ruminating as to why they did so, and the following dialogue is said to have taken place.

“I say Tam what does the *sue*-poys do gaun awa every day at twal o'clock. Hoot man jock din ye no ken they gang awa to get their grog!” They doubtless went away to take their siesta in the true oriental fashion during the heat of the day.

The departure of our author on the 4th March, to the other side of the river with the force under Sir James Outram prevented him being an eye-witness of what occurred on the Lucknow side of the river, for some time, and as we did not join the camp till the morning of the 11th March, we cannot give a description from personal observation previous to that time, but before giving our personal experiences, we will give a short resumé of the different events in the progress of the siege.

On the 2nd March the Commander-in-Chief, as we already stated, advanced with a portion of his force to the Dilkosha, the other portion of his force arriving next day. On the 4th March,

General Franks arrived with his force, and on the 6th instant Outram effected the passage of the Goomtee, on the 9th the Martiniere was stormed, and General Outram advanced and enfiladed the outer line of entrenchments; which were then evacuated by the enemy and occupied by us next day. On the 11th the whole force made a forward movement. General Outram's force advancing by the Badshahbagh and then to the Iron Bridge, where the second line of ramparts were taken in reverse; the right of the main column occupying the Secondrabagh, the Kuddum Rusool and Shah Nujeeff, the left storming the Begum Kotee, the first approach as it were to the Kaiserbagh, the stronghold where it was supposed the final struggle would take place. On this date Jung Bahadoor and his force arrived. On the 12th and 13th the advance was continued through the buildings covering the Kaiserbagh up to the Imam Barah, which was to be stormed on the next day. This place was stormed on the 14th and led to the taking of the Kaiserbagh principally by Brasyer's Seikhs, on the same day. Our onward progress after this event was rapid enough, place after place was won, and on the 18th all but the suburbs of the Moosabagh was ours. On the 19th the enemy were driven out of Lucknow and the place was ours, and so ended the siege of Lucknow, after only 17 days' fighting, but unfortunately we found that Lucknow was not Oude, and the escape of a large number of rebels from Lucknow formed the nucleus of a force which again reorganised cost us no little trouble effectually to disperse.

When we arrived in the camp on the 11th March we found the whole plain around Lucknow covered with a perfect city of tents, while close beside the Martiniere which looked a little battered, was a long street of hill tents with labels, signifying their inmates, attached to them; that was the head quarter's camp of the Commander-in-Chief; in front of these again was the spacious tent of the Commander-in-Chief himself.

All that day we happened to be encamped near the Commander-in-Chief's camp, the city, the doomed city, could be seen in the distance and immediately before us the canal with those enormous fortifications of mud, and prodigious bastions so enormous, so perfect, that they seemed impregnable; they were however quite deserted for the cravens with all their art in forming their batteries, had not the courage to defend them. All day the dull boom of our 68-pounders and other large ordnance prevailed, and we observed numerous fires in the city. As the day advanced the din increased, and in the afternoon a deafening roar of musketry arose; to us it was a time of great anxiety as we thought of the brave

hearts who were struggling against the hordes of Asiatics ; and our anxiety was mingled with a desire to be on the spot, although we well know that a death struggle was going on and although in our calm moments, as much inclined to peace and safety as any member of the peace society, yet in such a moment the desire to be in a melee rather than a spectator of it is strong within us, with something of the fascination of the candle to the mouth or the serpent's eyes upon its victim. We afterwards learned that the firing was really what we took it to be, and that the Highlanders had taken the Begum Kotee, with heavy loss and hard fighting, including the loss of Major Hodson, who had distinguished himself so much at Delhi.

In the evening, the Head Quarter's Camp, was enlivened by the state visit of Jung Bahadoor, who had arrived on that day, and the Highland pipers had the honour of playing before his Knighthip, we doubt not much to his gratification, for we know that Jung Bahadoor has a high idea of the Highlanders derived from his home experiences.

But our sight seeing, and war in the distance observing was speedily to come to an end, for on the afternoon of the 12th we were ordered off at a moment's notice, (*i. e.*, the force to which we were attached) to hold the Begum Kotee, relieving the Highlanders and a Seikh regiment. The force we entered with was composed of the 10th, 38th, 90th* and Brasyer's Seikhs. On we marched and our actual experiences of the siege of Lucknow shortly afterwards commenced, we at last reached the entrance to the Begum Kotee, passing the enormous fortifications taken by our brave troops the day before, on we went through faded gardens and deserted looking buildings, until we reached the principal square and buildings of the Begum Kotee, into which the shot were coming occasionally, pattering so much so that as we entered two unfortunate dooly bearers were wounded. Darkness came quickly upon us, and we amused ourselves, with watching the magnificent play of our numbers of shell upon the Kaiserbagh, which in the clear moonlight looked like myriads of comets flashing along. The next day saw the force extending its position, towards the Imam Barah which was to be stormed on the 14th. In doing this there were several casualties a poor dooly bearer among the rest, who was killed dead, shot through the head, the forward movement was however perfectly successful, and permitted of our 68-pounders being brought up manned by the brave Naval Brigade, to make a breach in the

* This regiment we rather think was in before

Imam Barah, upon which we were now very close, in fact a narrow roadway only intervened between us and the Imam Barah, and in this roadway the enemy were very numerous, but were at last pretty well driven from it. All that night the 68-pounders were booming and roaring against the Imam Barah from a gate, nearly opposite; we scarcely slept all that night as we were in a rickety house close to the gate and every time the gun fired we thought the old tenement would have tumbled about our ears. But the morning came and with it the stern fact that the Imam Barah was to be stormed, and in the early morning, the storming parties of the different regiments with their reserves assembled. The storming parties were formed by part of H. M.'s 10th and 90th L. I., and Brasyer's Seikhs there was a pretty heavy musketry fire falling into the place where the reserves were placed, the storming parties with their various implements advanced, while we of the reserved party remained in waiting, after an anxious but not very long interval a loud hurrah burst from our party, and on looking up we observed that the breach had been effectually stormed; for we observed first a Seikh and then Brasyer himself and another Seikh make their appearance, on that part of the Imam Barah which had been played upon by our 68-pounders. By and bye we ourselves had to proceed forward passing along until we reached some of the numerous arch ways of the Imam Barah in one of which we found General Franks and his Staff; and Captain Dacosta of Brasyer's Seikhs lying in a doolie mortally wounded through the chest. Circumstances demanded my proceeding quickly onwards, and the varied scenes as I quickly passed on will not be soon effaced from my memory, on, on, we went passing through enormous redoubts, and a large square with enormous fortifications and guns and mortars lying about on the ground, and every thing as we passed bore abundant signs of flight and confusion. At last we reached a long straight narrow street, the China Bazar; on either side of the street was a series of narrow arches leading into ruinous shops battered by our shell and shot; advancing we came upon some poor fellows of H. M.'s 10th, who had just been injured by an explosion of gunpowder, and one poor fellow we saw in great agony fearfully timid and naked. On we still went and came upon some of the 90th headed by Lieutenant Colonel Varnell and here through the arches the dense masses of the enemy were singing: trying to escape and jostling each other while we in the streets were a mere handful of men, and had they just stopped could have soon annihilated us.

As we watched them we felt in a state of intense excitement as revolver in hand and reserving our fire, we watched the retreating masses of legs, well knowing that it only wanted the courage of one individual, to level his musket to make our tenure of life a short one, but our watch was a sharp one, so that if possible we might have the first shot, but we luckily passed on unscathed reaching the spot at which Brasyer's Seikhs were rapidly advancing to the archway near which the breach was made through which our troops entered the Kaiserbagh. Circumstances demanded that we should go back to the Imam Barah again and on our return we found that the breach had been made and that we were in fact, becoming the possessors of the Kaiserbagh. We entered through the breach finding every thing in the confusion which marked the hurried flight of the rebels, a portion of the Kaiserbagh as you passed along from the breach was on fire, and a straggling fire of musketry could be heard here and there. We at last entered one of the side buildings, and passed on through rooms upon rooms, and through the ceilings and floors of many of them we observed large holes caused by the precise firing of our mortars, on through a confined mass of etceteras, heaps of books, &c., on one heap of books lay an officer severely wounded gasping for breath and lying in a pool of blood.* In another place you would see some soldiers poking their bayonets through fire paintings or smashing costly chandeliers, till at last we found ourselves in the principal palace of the Kaiserbagh.

This place was at last won, for over the principal palace, the British Ensign proudly floated and so unexpected was the news to every one and even to the Commander-in-Chief, for he is reported to have said on hearing it "R—— and B—— are both mad," alluding to two of the principal officers engaged on that day. But the rebels although nearly out of the palace, could not be said to be entirely so for knots of them, desperate and determined, lurked in some of the least approachable parts of the buildings. In one place we particularly recollect the fire was very heavy—before a large trough gate, through which we had to pass on our way to the breach again, but the place was practically ours, and the reserves that kept pouring in, sufficed to withstand any attack that might be made, should the rebels take heart again.

We think that there can be little doubt that the merit of taking the Kaiserbagh is principally due to Lieut. Col. Brasyer and his brave Seikhs. We repeat principally because some of H. M.'s

* This officer afterwards recovered

10th and 90th Regiments may justly lay claim to share in the glory of this feat of arms which perhaps, as a whole, was as brilliant as any in the campaign, for to those who saw the extraordinary and massive fortifications which had been taken, and their enormous extent, together with the quantity of available ordnance and ammunition, by a mere handful of men, the fact appeared a most wonderful one, especially when taken in connection with the capture of the Kaiserbagh itself to which these were merely the approaches, and which of itself might have defied us for a very long time.

The sepoy themselves were more astonished than any others, and industriously circulated a story ascribing the capture of the Kaiserbagh to witchcraft. They said that one or two Europeans got into the Kaiserbagh, bringing with them a box which they quickly opened and out of it sprung such hordes of Europeans that the Kaiserbagh was quickly filled by them. What could they do against such sorcery but fly? This story, we have little doubt, was greedily swallowed by the superstitious natives, whose credulity is only equalled by their lying habits.

It appears that no less than forty pieces of ordnance, were captured, 32 guns and 8 mortars; some of the latter were of enormous size, and one which we saw in the Kaiserbagh was particularly so, perhaps this latter was the one with which the rebels sent the large blocks of wood into the Residency christened by the soldiers "the bow barrel" and which we fancy we have heard whizzing through the air like a bird, too whit, too whooping at an awful rate. Let us try and trace the different stages of the taking of the Kaiserbagh as described by one of those who was present at the different steps, more closely than we were. After the storming of the Imambarah, Brasyer's Sikhs seized two guns and turned them upon the retreating enemy, the Sikhs then proceeded onward to a circular battery in the rear of the Imambarah, the guns of which were playing upon the men of H. M.'s 10th and the Sikhs, who were upon the top of that building, this battery was again stormed, and the guns in this battery were again turned upon the retreating enemy; these were followed up to a second battery; and here again the guns were turned upon the retreating enemy; here Sir Henry Havelock came to assist and a small portion of the Sikhs were left in this battery, Sir Henry personally directing the working of the guns. Support now approached and an onward move was again made; on the force went to near the Kaiserbagh and Torad Buksh, when a halt was made to allow of other assistance coming up. Brigadier Russell with other officers and men

then came up, a hole was opened through the wall of the Kaiserbagh, and the Seikhs, led by Lieutenant Colonel Brasyer; and some few others entered, driving the enemy from their guns in the courtyard of the larger mosque following them closely up till the small force found themselves in the principal squares of the Kaiserbagh, here they were opposed by a large body of the enemy, and it was afterwards ascertained that when a force of probably under 200 including 150 Seikhs, entered the breach in the Kaiserbagh from 20 to 25,000 men were in it. The position was a ticklish one, and a dangerous one also, the enemy however retreated from every place on being charged with the bayonet and fired at, and the small brave force thus proceeding at last reached the principal palace.

At this stage, the enemy commenced to collect in the rear, so the force partially retired, while from the windows of the palace the enemy annoyed them considerably; they then arrived and took refuge opposite the bronze gate on the north west side of the palace. It was at this time that the balance was quivering between victory or the massacre of the whole of the small force, and here that the greatest loss was sustained.

On the outside of the gateway was situated a gun protected by a loopholed wall. This was immediately used against them; beyond this gateway was a second one from behind which a severe musketry fire was poured, and to make matters worse the enemy were keeping up a considerable fire on their front from the opposite side of the palace. In this perilous predicament, Lieut. Col. Brasyer and Lieut. Cary, 37th N. I., broke open a small window in front of the gun, and both jumping down were soon followed by several of the Seikhs; the gun was immediately captured, and the enemy driven back to the second gateway. After the gun was captured the enemy were kept in check till reinforcements arrived, the enemy were then driven from place to place till at last the British standard was placed on the principal building in the palace. A considerable number of the enemy took refuge and hid themselves in the further end of the side of the palace and were not dislodged till next day. We believe the above to be a correct account and when given thus in detail it is a most wonderful episode in the history of the final taking of Lucknow, and one which reflects no little lustre on our arms. It was on this day, that a curious looking haggard boy about 14 or 15 was found, clad in native clothes, who told us that he belonged to H. M.'s 32nd Regiment, and had been kept a prisoner there.

But the longest day will have an end, and the darkness of the night came upon us after the struggles of the day. We

lay down so exhausted with our continuous exertions that we could not sleep or even sip a glass of brandy and water, which we had the luck to have beside us; we were comfortable too as things went, indeed we have not always had such luck, for we lay down in a very good doolie.

With the morning came a horde of all kinds eager upon loot, and amongst them a great many of our little friends the Goorkhas, who whatever difference there may be as to their bravery, allowed of no doubt with regard to their looting propensities. A perfect crowd was passing and repassing, but during the day a Guard of H. M.'s 10th was placed at the breach; that prevented the visible loot from being carried out, so the adepts at concealing their loot escaped, while the raw hands had to stand and deliver, and help to increase the pyramid of etceteras collected at the breach.

The list of plunder was curiously exemplified in the various passers by, and as we lay near the breach looking on, we saw many a queer sight; one ludicrous, one we well remember, in which an individual had two ponies loaded with loot and a great big old fashioned clock among the rest, dangling over the back of one of the unfortunate tats.

We doubt not that the Seikhs who so ably fought and we may say won the Kaiserbagh, had a good deal of loot like their neighbours, especially if we are to believe Mr. Russell, the *Times'* correspondent, with his portrait of Seikhs sitting burning cloth to extract the silver or gold from the ashes; but of one thing we are sure that on the 14th March, the Seikhs had too much in the way of fighting to do, to permit of them throwing away their lives in attempts at looting, and we only saw one or two who had lagged behind to loot, but there were very few, the whole nearly rallied round their commanding officer, and distinguished themselves as the Seikhs have always done, by caring for the safety of their European officers, for a Seikh we believe if he can save his officer, will risk his life in his defence.

On the next day the 15th March, we found that a few desperate rebels were in a building of the palace, and one of them nearly took off a Seikh's hand, they were at last got out to the number of fifteen and summarily disposed of.

During the occurrences of the 14th, the force on the other side of the Goomtee, had not been idle, we quote again from Lieutenant Majendie. "On the afternoon of the 14th, we received information that Sir Colin Campbell had taken the Kaiserbagh, and that in consequence we were to cross the Iron Bridge, and so complete the discomfiture of the enemy. All

was got ready for a move, the horses hooked to the guns, and in obedience to orders, the infantry opened a heavy fire upon the right bank of the river, the enemy responding briskly, and making great gaps and fissures, and rugged breaches in the houses we occupied, by a quick but happily not very sanguinary cannonade of round shot, shell, and case, till the whole scene became smoky gunpowdery and exciting. Lieutenant Wynne, Royal Engineers with a few men now dashed forward, and removed the breastwork which we had erected across the bridge, a duty which they performed splendidly, and although under an exceedingly hot fire, without losing a man.

All was ready for the advance, when General Outram and staff arrived, and ascending to the top of one of the houses proceeded to take a bird's-eye-view of the state of affairs, and hold a council of war; the result being that Sir James came to the determination not to cross the bridge that day, but to wait till the following morning. He then came down and said, "I'm afraid gentlemen, you'll be disappointed when I tell you that I am not going to attack to-day"—explaining to us, at the same time, that Sir Colin Campbell had ordered him not to cross the bridge to-day, if he saw the chance of losing a single man; a contingency which we could hardly expect to avoid, as the enemy had a nine-pounder gun sweeping the bridge, a discharge or two of grape from which *must* have made some havoc among our advancing troops.

I shall always think that it was a pity not to have crossed on this occasion, when we might, with a very small loss on our part have struck a heavy and decisive blow, and effected immense destruction among the enemy: coming upon them as we should have done, while they were in a state of confusion and depression, from the loss of their grand stronghold the Kaiserbagh.

Lieutenant Majendie then goes on to describe the gallant taking of the Engine House situated between the Kaiserbagh and the river by H. M.'s 20th Regiment, two companies of which under the command of Major Ratcliffe found a roomful of sepoys, and three hundred were killed, while fifty or sixty more fell outside the buildings in endeavouring to escape, having fallen into the clutches of the remainder of the 20th Regiment and the two companies of the 38th Regiment, who were stationed round the house. This large slaughter of the enemy was effected incredible as it may appear, with a loss of eight or nine killed and fifteen or sixteen wounded!

On the morning of the 16th it fell to our lot again to be engaged in another melee; and we marched off in the direction of

the Chuttur Munzil and Torad Buksh; passing several enormous fortifications, nearly opposite the Tara Kotee, one of the bastions had one of the most stupendous ditches possible and really as a work of art it was very superior, but what of that, when it was not defended to the death. We arrived at the Chuttur Munzil without firing a shot, and to us who had been at its defence in troublous times the sight brought back quite a flood of recollections, we however remained here only half an hour or so and then hurried on; we at last reached the Bailey Guard without a shot being fired, and found that, although the buildings were not levelled with the ground as we had heard of at the Alumbagh, yet they were completely gutted and the bare mined walls standing; a rather sharp fire saluted us as we hastily passed through, and I could not help thinking of the many stirring scenes exacted in that small cluster of ruined houses and the many melancholy scenes I had myself witnessed in that now desolate spot. We were now however having our revenge after a fashion, and entered our old prison house with a very different air to what we had left it in, when at the dead of night from the Bailey Guard and its various outposts round about on the 22nd November, we evacuated the position which had been held against such fearful odds and for so many months.

On we went, passing the Iron Bridge, some of the force going over it while others went along the Iron Bridge, here the fire was very heavy, especially from musketry, and occasionally enlivened by shell, which however generally burst in the air; a 9-pounder gun had been captured by we think the 23rd or 20th, and the Seikh Commandant, Brasyer, turned it upon the retreating enemy, his men serving it quickly with grape, and the others waiting in serais till the way was cleared a little. We were close enough to the gun, for circumstances required our suddenly jumping before it in the intervals of firing—and going into a trench a little to one side of it; a house behind us was getting on fire and the place was getting too hot for us, all being Europeans; we succeeded in creeping before the gun, and getting it to stop, and so we escaped. A forward movement took place again, which enabled us with little loss to capture the Muchee Bawn and extend our position to a little beyond the Ronmee Darwaza, a most beautiful gate near the great Imambarah.

All the houses and shops were deserted, and every thing bore the marks of a hasty flight of the rebels, as well as of the townspeople who had deserted their homes. As usual some were trying to loot by diving into out of the way places, and we well recollect seeing one-half drunken soldier coming swaggering

along with a poor terrified native girl of about twelve years old, we managed to rescue her from him, and had the satisfaction of giving her up to her relatives, after the final taking of Lucknow. Let me add to the honor of our soldiery, that this was the only case of this kind we had witnessed during our long experience of the mutiny, an experience which extends from the time when the Europeans were huddled together in the fort of Allahabad, and the town, a blackened ruin was in the hands of the rebels; cases doubtless have occurred, but we incline to think they must be very rare.

On the next day a forward move was made under Sir James Outram, but our duty required our remaining at the Roomee Darwaza. In a short time after the force had moved on, we heard a loud explosion as of a mine, and shortly afterwards doolie after doolie passed by with Europeans and Seikhs, nearly burned to death.

This sad affair which cost us two promising officers of Engineers, about 40 Europeans killed and burned, and about 30 Seikhs killed and burned, was caused by an explosion of gunpowder, several carts of which belonging to the enemy were found near a well at Ali Nucky Khan's house (the former Prime Minister of Oude;) this was ordered to be thrown down a well; but some round shot happened to be along with the gunpowder, and it is supposed that in throwing the powder down the well, the shot had by friction against the sides of the well caused the explosion, a sad affair truly which distressed every one and especially the chivalrous Outram, whose care for his men is proverbial, and who, we believe, more than any man living, possesses the regard of the soldiers who have served under him.

There was a large Musjid taken to-day near Ali Nucky Khan's house, and it was reported that in it was found a table laid out in European style with wines, cut tobacco and clay pipes. Can there have been any Europeans or Eurasians with the rebels? We fear there were.

On the 21st the last blow was struck which gave to us the supremacy in Lucknow. Two guns were captured and the enemy might at this time, he said to be practically out of Lucknow. It was reported that one of their leaders was shot on that day, the 79th Highlanders having forced open the door of a house in which some rebels were, the rebels themselves having shot their leader, and this formed about the last episode in the siege of Lucknow, in which our troops had for the first nobly sustained the character, they have won in many a hard fight. The soldiers on both sides of the Groomtee are all equally deserving of praise as their work was in both cases efficiently

and bravely performed. We quite agree with Lieutenant Majendie when he says. "The Trans-Goomtee movement was 'in every way an important and successful one, as I have before stated, it enabled us to take the enemy's defences in reverse, and enfilade; it distracted and divided their attention, and gave us an opportunity of effectually shelling their strongholds before assaulting them; it exposed them to a severe cross fire—their left flank was constantly threatened by it—and by keeping them constantly under the apprehension of having that flank turned, and their retreat cut off, it had much to do with their relinquishing so easily position after position, until the whole were in our hands. To these primary causes must be added the careful way in which each separate operation had been planned, and the determination and skill with which they were carried out, like a beautiful piece of carpet work, each square of which, complete and defined in itself, will bear a minute and close examination, and exhibits the same attention to details, which characterizes the whole."

And thus ended the siege of Lucknow, triumphant as a whole in its results, and only imperfect in one respect as regards the escape of the retreating enemy, inasmuch as it left to us the melancholy fact that Lucknow was not Oude, for the enemy still possessing some organization, gave us no little trouble and forced upon us a hot weather campaign, which in its turn involved a great loss of human life, not so much from the sword of the enemy as from those unrelenting enemies of the European, the heat and the sun.

After the siege the city began to fill apace, and in a short time it turned with a busy population, order began to be established—and large number of houses, were knocked down to make room for those enormous fortifications which promised to defy the attacks of any future bodies of mutineers. Immediately after the siege also, various columns were ordered off, one going on towards Bareilly; another going off towards the Azimghur district; a third the Oude field force being organized while another force was organized, termed the garrison of Lucknow. We happened to be in the latter force, and were lucky enough to be in Lucknow unmolested for several months.

We need not relate how the force advancing towards Bareilly met with a terrible reverse at the fort of Roohya, or of the efforts of our troops in the Azimghur and Shahabad districts—but hurry on to say in conclusion a little about Sir Hope Grant's force with which we were latterly connected. This force in the first place moved out towards Roy Bareilly. In the course of their long march they passed the village of Dhoondea Kheyra

on the Ganges where the boat or boats which escaped from Cawnpore were attacked, and all killed with the exception of Captain Thomson, Lieutenant Delafosse and two soldiers, we believe that the two officers, are still alive, but we know that one of the two soldiers died of cholera at Cawnpore, while that town was in the possession of Havelock's force. The force fought the rebels some days after, and completely defeated them, but found that their losses from the heat and the sun would not permit of them following up their advantage and they came back to Lucknow very much cut up by disease. The country round about Lucknow was at this time in a very unsettled state, and some little time before this force went out, the rebels had attacked the village of Gosaingunge quite near Lucknow, they were said to number about a thousand men, and it was also said that 25 police were killed before they retired. About this time also we heard that the Begum had elected a new Moulvie, and that our Seikh regiments were visited by her emissaries. About the beginning of May it was rumoured that the enemy were closing round Lucknow, a strong party of them were said to be on the left of Jellalabad, a fort which formed part of Sir James Outram's position, when he so nobly held the Alumbagh with a small force against the whole city of Lucknow with its teeming population of rebels. In consequence of these stern facts, orders were given that on three guns being fired, a pretty large force with artillery was to turn out and proceed down the Fyzabad road, from which quarter an attack was expected; the 38th and 90th Queen's went also out to Chinhut about five miles from Lucknow, on this road. A short time after this we received intelligence that General Grant's force which had gone out to meet the rebels on the Fyzabad road, had encountered the rebels at Nawabgunge in great force, killing a large number of them and taking 7 guns, having 3 men killed and 2 officers wounded. Lieutenant Majendie thus describes this successful affair "marching from Chinhut on the night of June 12th, we made a forced march, and at daybreak on the 13th came upon the centre of the rebel force, which was strongly posted at Nawabgunge, on ground made difficult by ravines which ran across it here and there." It seems not improbable that the guide, who served us on this occasion was doing, or willing to do, a good turn to the sepoys also, and kill two birds with one stone, for he led our column straight, up to the centre of the enemy's position, to the very point where they were best prepared to receive us, and exactly where, supposing him to have been in collusion with them, he would be likely to lead us, thinking thereby to place us in their hands or at least at a disadvantage.

But as usual Pandey "caught a Tartar," and in spite of every preparation was unable to hold his ground; he disputed the field, however, more stubbornly than was his wont, and the fight was a sharp one. At one time our force was completely surrounded by our numerous foes, and the fight was raging in every direction; a series of determined conflicts was taking place in various parts of the field, the most serious of which was one with a body of desperate fanatics, who planted the sacred green flag in the ground, and hundreds whose courage had begun to waver, and whose backs were already turned upon the field, gained fresh heart as they saw this emblem of the Moslem faith waving in the air, and gathering round prepared to die, beneath its sacred folds; but with a wild cheer a battalion of the rifle Brigade threw themselves upon them, and for some few moments a sharp and deadly strife was waged round the green banner; flashing bayonets and keen tulwars glimmering about the conined mass of combatants; while quick shots and cries of anguish, or, at times a ringing cheer as the little Riflemen, steadily fought their way on, and found their foes gradually giving way before them, were the sight and sounds which caught the ears of the spectators, till at last discipline and courage prevailed—the sacred standard and its defenders went down before the strong arms of our defenders. Fanaticism, faith, paradise and its dark-eyed hours with their waving green scarfs were all forgotten, and broken and dispirited the survivors fled, followed by showers of hissing rifle bullets, which then conquerors poured in upon them.

The 7th Hussars too in a glorious charge, dulled the edge and dimmed the brightness of many a sabre, as they rode gallantly through the affrighted enemy; and elsewhere the artillery by keeping up a deadly fire, which no native troops, much less mutineers, could stand against, completed their discomfiture. It would be unfair however to praise one part of the force more highly than another, for all did their duty well on this day as may be seen by the result, viz, the total defeat of the enemy, with the loss to them of 600 or 700 killed, and seven guns which we captured—and to us of about half a dozen killed, and perhaps twenty or thirty wounded. As usual, however, we had to mourn several cases of sunstroke, though not nearly so many as on the day of Simree; we lost also a few camp followers and grass cutters, who, with a portion of the baggage, having mistaken their road, fell into the enemy's hands and were cut up.

And thus ended this brilliant affair which we cannot help thinking was the "small end of the wedge," as regards the pa-

cification of Oude. Events quickly followed which rendered it necessary to follow up our success, by Maun Singh sending from Fyzabad for assistance, he having declared that he was besieged at Shahgunge, his residence—but of this more anon.

We poor fellows in Lucknow, who were drawing our breath commenced to make preparations for the rainy season ; we were however ordered off to Nuwabgunge, 18 miles from Lucknow on the Fyzabad road, and the place where the late battle was fought. We found on our arrival a force already collected there, and proceeded forthwith to make ourselves very comfortable, a friend of ours having left us a very nice thatched house, he having left with General Grant's force for Fyzabad. This was a very fine place, the camp was beautifully drained and altogether we thought that after Lucknow, it was a most eligible country residence for a short time, but alas, no sooner were we comfortable than we were ordered off to Fyzabad—where we safely arrived and took up our quarters. We found that our friend Rajah Maun Singh had, to say the least of it, been more frightened than hurt.

It would be foreign to the scope of this review to enter further into the operations of Sir Hope Grant or of the other forces in the pacification of Oude, for it is time to draw our wandering account of the final taking of Lucknow to a close—and in doing so we cannot help giving a passing tribute of thanks, to Lieutenant Majendie for having produced a very readable book on the latter part of the Indian Campaign, full of incidents very well told, but we wish he had avoided some of the more harrowing incidents which we are convinced from our own more extensive experience of the campaign, were exceedingly rare, and which we trust Lieutenant Majendie will expunge in the next edition of his book ; for while not doubting the truth of these incidents still we think it would have been better had they been left untold. With this exception the book is an admirable one and full of reflections on India, which strike us as being wonderfully accurate for one whose residence there was so short.

We have now finished our task, and at a period when we have crushed the rebellion which at one time seemed to endanger our dominion in India. The task has been a difficult one, the danger to our supremacy a perilous one, yet England relying on the strength and the courage of her sons, has come out triumphant, and has therefore become magnanimous. But let her beware of too much of the latter element in a country where compliance is understood to mean fear, and with a people devoid of patriotism who have always been before our rule under a

despotism, and for whom we believe (unpalatable as the opinion may be to many) the pressure of the heel upon the neck, or in other words a strict yet just despotism, is the normal Government.

ART. II.—*Christianity in India: by JOHN WILLIAM KAYE, Author of "The War in Afghanistan," &c., &c., &c.* London. Smith, Elder & Co. 1859.

ANY work from the pen of the talented Author of the War in Afghanistan will never be without readers. The smooth and sketchy style for which they are particularly remarkable is sure to make his writings popular. Even when treating of subjects, naturally heavy, he manages to produce a result to which the mind, wearied with business, may turn for recreation. He never tires his readers; he taxes neither their thought nor their judgment. Each event is brought forward, tried, often by a partial advocate rather than a judge, and disposed of, apparently in the most satisfactory manner. This style of composition is sure to be popular. In the present run and read age, people prize most the writer who saves them the labour of thought. The opinions expressed may not be altogether sound, may even at times be injurious and false, but the falsehood is concealed beneath so much apparent truth that few ever think of questioning it.

Mr. Kaye's new work on Christianity in India is a good type of this class of writings. The subject, indifferent as it may be to a large portion of the Europeans in this country, has been always regarded with friendly eyes in England, where, during the height of the mutiny, it became an engrossing object of general interest. Good evidence was thus of the vitality of our faith, that the first natural feeling of horror for the murder of her children was followed, in England, by a desire almost universal to christianize India.

The treatment adopted by Mr. Kaye is biographical rather than historical. It is not a History of Christianity in India, nor does it profess to be so. He lays before his readers a series of brief sketches of the lives of some of the ablest and most zealous Indian Missionaries, and he has performed his work in the happiest style of biographical literature. All redundancy of words or matter has been carefully avoided. Everything likely to prove uninteresting or heavy has been omitted, and the result is a book which will be read with as much pleasure by the general reader as by that smaller class who look on Missionary works as their own peculiar style of literature, and who take a real interest in the subject of which they treat.

And yet the thoughtful enquirer will rise dissatisfied from the perusal. Bright as the picture Mr. Kaye draws, it is not altogether true to life. He displays at times an amount of special pleading

which is below the dignity of his subject. We cannot help feeling that his view of the present state of Missionary enterprise in India, is rather what its best friends would wish it to be, than the living reality before us. Whatever the future may produce, and there is good cause for hope, hitherto Christianity has fallen almost lifeless on the shores of India. It has been placed in circumstances, less hostile to its progress, than any it has ever yet seen. No sword or faggot has stood in the way ; its followers have not been hunted to death ; not has it added one important name to the army of Martyrs. It has been introduced by ministers, many of whom for ability and zeal might have ranked with the Apostles of old. And yet now, after the lapse of 300 years from the time when Christian Europe found its way to the East, the Hindoo still clings to his idols and the name of Christ is still a dead letter to the 180 millions who dwell between Cape Comorin and the Himalayah.

To what is this result due ? We fear the answer can only be found in a review of our own conduct. Few who deserve the name of Christian will deny the miraculous character of Christianity in all ages. Miracles indeed which appeal directly to the senses and by which its Divine Author first introduced it to mankind, have probably ceased since the days of His immediate followers. But events, no less miraculous, may be observed in every page of its History. From an obscure village in Bethlehem and from the ashes of a fallen people it has met and overthrown the religion of the most powerful nation of antiquity. Before it, the philosophy of Greece and Rome, the bloody rites of Odin and Thor, and the altars of the Druids stained with human blood, have alike passed away. It has encountered many checks, which had it been only of man, it could not possibly have withstood ; and yet from each it has risen with fresh vigour and power. And now, after eighteen hundred years, its followers may be found in every clime and amongst every people. It is the honored faith of the greatest and most powerful nations on the globe ; and wherever civilization spreads—wherever the advancement and benefit of mankind are sought—there the Religion of Christ will be found, as the promoter and cause of all good.

It is not too much to expect that a religion which has achieved so much, and which, in so marked a degree bears the impress of its divine origin and protection, will eventually triumph over the darkness of India. It may not come in our day. Governors may try to stop the mighty flood ; royal proclamations may affect to ignore it, the priests of a false faith may oppose ; and even Christian labourers in the good work, despair. But sooner

or later its holy influence will be felt in every village home of this mighty continent. When that time comes, those who live to see it will know that this result has been brought about by a series of events nothing short of miraculous, and similar to those which have marked Christianity, at every step of its progress.

It is no less, however, the duty of all Christians to endeavour to hasten it by every means in their power. That it has been so long delayed is due, we fear, to the indifference of those who bear that name. In taking a brief glance at the History of the past, it may be that we shall be enabled to see wherein our weakness lies, and how it happens that Christians, honored as the Apostles of God's greatest message to man, have found so much difficulty in laying it before the nations of the East.

The earliest Christians who visited India from Europe were the Portuguese—who took with them, in the early part of the 16th century, some Missionaries from the recently formed Society of Jesus—not merely for the conversion of the Hindoos, but also, it is said, for the purpose of persecuting the primitive Christians—of whom there were many in Southern India whose predecessors had probably found their way to India by the Northern route through Central Asia. They had established Churches on the Malabar Coast and in Ceylon, which acknowledged no authority but the Patriarch of Babylon and had never heard of the Bishop of Rome. With the first Missionaries went Francis Xavier, whose memory must be regarded with respect and admiration by Christians of all denominations. This great man, imbued with the true Apostolic spirit, was a native of the South of France, and had received his education at the celebrated University of Paris. It was here, while pursuing his studies that Ignatius Loyola found him and persuaded him to join the community of Jesuits and accompany him to Lisbon. From thence after a short residence Xavier sailed to India, with a determination to devote all his energies to the conversion of the heathen. Nobly did he carry out his high purpose. In the exercise of the most rigorous self-denial and in a spirit of deep humility he faced all dangers; he glowed in his trials, and disregarded life itself in the pursuit. Difficulties which would have deterred ordinary men, seemed to add only a fresh stimulus to his courage. True to the commands of His Divine Master—who had sent his disciples first to Jerusalem, Xavier turned his earliest attention to the Portuguese of Goa. To correct their immoralities was his first work—a task of no small difficulty if we may form any estimate of the earlier inhabitants of Goa from the character of their degenerate posterity. The sphere of his

labors was soon, however, changed to the aboriginal inhabitants of the country; amongst whom in a short time his converts might be numbered by hundreds of thousands. After a residence of four years in India, his enterprising spirit formed the idea of extending his labours further east and planting in China the Cross of Christ. This, however, was not to be; after enduring great fatigue and various hardships, the truly pious, faithful, and devoted Missionary made his way to the borders of China, and there "within sight of the flowery land he closed a life of agony and bliss—of humiliation and triumph with scarce a parallel in the History of the World."

The absence of all bigotry and intolerance, which so eminently marked the character of Xavier, in an age when bigotry was religion, and intolerance the worship of God, was not found amongst his successors. He had scarcely left India when a relentless persecution was commenced against the primitive Christians on the Malabar coast, who had refused to acknowledge the authority of the Pope or the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. It is said that when first the image of the Virgin Mary was placed before their eyes, they shrunk back from it with abhorrence, saying "We are not idolaters but Christians." The strong arm of power, aided by the tortures of the inquisition, crushed their spirit, and for more than fifty years they groaned beneath the tyranny of the Jesuits. In their dealings with the Hindoos, the conduct of the followers of Xavier was no less unscrupulous. No act of dissimulation was considered unfair, which tended to win converts from the ranks of Heathenism. Masters of the language and habits of the people of the country, they disguised themselves as natives, and joined in all their idol worship—wearing the sacred cord, and with bodies half naked, they wandered amongst the people, calling themselves Western Brahmins, and declaring that they had sprung from Brahma himself. By such means they made a surprising number of converts, that is if sprinkling water and muttering a few cabalistic words in an unknown language could make anything worthy of the name of convert. In time the fraud was found out and the Jesuits were expelled with the scorn they deserved. The history of the Jesuit Mission remains a lasting proof that truth can never be propagated by falsehood. A few years after reaching India, they numbered their so-called converts by hundreds of thousands—yet one generation saw them as empty handed as when they commenced. Under them Christianity rose in a night only to perish in a night. Falsehood was at its root; falsehood propagated, advanced and finally destroyed it.

Unlike the Portuguese, the first English settlers brought no Missionaries in their train. An indifference to the spread of Christianity has been always a marked feature of British Colonization, more especially at the time when the East India Company received its first patent. This was owing to no absence of religion in the parent country. The English of those days were especially observant of everything which tended to a Christian life. In the present age, when a reference in good society to God or an acknowledgment of his influence, except from the pulpit, is looked on as a solecism in manners or the cant of a hypocrite, we can scarcely realise the manner in which Christianity was in those days interwoven with every act of life whether public or private. The old voyagers who, in the reign of good Queen Bess, laid the foundation of our maritime power, never set sail until the whole ship's company had solemnly attended divine service and received the sacrament together. And on returning home their first act was a public thanksgiving in Church for their safety. A mercantile venture or the marriage of a child furnished occasions for serious family worship, and no act in life was so insignificant as not to have its acknowledged religious aspect. Yet with this universal respect for religion at home the spread of Christianity formed no part of the plans of conquest of the earlier English Colonists. It may be that they had seen how, under its name, atrocities, loathsome even in an age of cruelty, had been committed by the Spaniards on the helpless savages of the new world: and in avenging, as they did with no niggard hand, those dark deeds, the English mariners probably considered it their own duty to follow an entirely different course. Whether for right or wrong the trading companies of England confined their efforts to trade. In none of their settlements was this policy more rigorously carried out than in the East Indies. The Agents of the Company disclaimed all desire to spread Christianity. They came to India to trade; their business was to send large dividends to the shareholders or to accumulate fortunes for themselves, and they thought as little of the souls of the Hindoos as their brothers at home did of the souls of the American Indians.

There was every excuse for the trading companies. It could not be expected that a small body of adventurers, living upon sufferance in a foreign country, should become the Apostles of a strange faith to its people. But when the traders became the Christian rulers of a mighty empire, and the Heathen, who had received them as visitors, became their subjects, they were surely bound to follow a very different policy. And so they did—but one which will ever be the darkest page in the History of the

British empire. The traders had observed a strict religious neutrality—the new rulers adopted a stricter religious hostility. The traders were only indifferent to the spread of Christianity—the company opposed its progress by every means in its power. The traders had not interfered with the religion of the Hindoos; the company became the very priests of that false and degrading faith. English officers took charge of the temples—supplied clothes to the idols and food to the priests, and when the Hindoos performed their great annual ceremonies, British soldiers were the guards who preserved order. What the Government supported, its servants carried out. One of these at an earlier time, Mr. Job Charnock used, after the heathen fashion, to sacrifice annually a cock over the tomb of his wife and the bell which now at the great Temple of Gya invites the Hindoos to worship, was the gift of a Civilian. Here is a creditable account given by Mr. Robert Lindsay, C. S., of his initiation into the office of Resident at Sylhet.

“I was now told that it was customary for the new Resident to pay his respects to the shrine of the tutelar Saint Shaw Juloll. Pilgrims of the Islam faith flock to this shrine from every part of India, and I afterwards found that the fanatics attending the tomb were not a little dangerous. It was not my business to combat religious prejudice, and I therefore went in state as others had gone before me, left my shoes on the threshold and deposited on the tomb five gold mohurs as an offering. Being thus punctuated I returned to my dwelling and received the homage of my subjects.”

Mr. Lindsay's logic is admirable. He did not consider it to be his duty to combat religious prejudices, therefore he must needs feign himself a worshipper of Shaw Juloll. The officers of that day do not appear to have had very clear ideas of the difference between tolerance and active support.

The end of the seventeenth century saw the first Protestant Church erected in Madras. Up to this time it was a matter of almost no importance to the rulers of India whether their servants had any religion. In those days no English public opinion kept the distant dependencies of the Crown under moral restraint. The people of England, during the troubles of the English Revolution and the reaction against all religion which marked the latter days of the Stuarts, could be expected to think little of the moral culture of the distant and inaccessible East. A better spirit arose when William III. ascended the throne. Protestantism, at home relieved from persecution, began to see that it had a Missionary duty to perform in other lands. And in 1709 the first effort was made by a contribution of £20 in aid of a Danish Mission from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts. The Danes had anticipated us in this good work. A few years before the King

of Denmark sent out Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plutsch. These eminent men were students of the University of Halle, that great centre of Evangelical Christianity, where they had studied under the learned and pious Professor Frank. On reaching India they mastered the Tamil language in which, within three years, they produced the first translation of the Scriptures. Unlike the Jesuits, the Danish Missionaries took no account of sham conversion. Their progress was therefore slow and it was not till after ten years that they were able to number 3,000 Christian converts. In the year 1750 another illustrious name was added to these zealous ministers—Christian Frederick Schwartz, who had also been educated at Halle. For more than half a century this great and good man laboured, with indefatigable zeal, in the Mission Field in Southern India. After his death, the East India Company honorably acknowledged his services by sending out two statues of him in marble, executed by Bacon, one for St. Mary's Church, Madras, and the other for the Church at Tanjore.

Sunk in darkness and superstition as the natives were, none in India required Christianity more than the English of those days. The people of the country acknowledged indeed the great principles of morality. Imperfect and false as was their faith it was still vastly superior to the absence of all moral restraint—of all regard for God and man—which were the characteristics of their western conquerors. Here is a picture of a council given by Mr. Kaye.

"Our Indian Presidents, at the period which I am now describing (in the early part of the 18th century) adjusted their relations with their councillors after a fashion of their own, and their council imposed checks, which, if not theoretically constitutional, were practically sufficiently effective. If a President exceeded his authority, or otherwise offended his colleagues, some adventurous councillors coerced him with a cudgel or endeavoured to vacate the chair by means of the dagger or the bowl; whilst the President, on his part, if a man of muscle, sometimes kept a councillor in order by cuffing him to that extent that scarce a sound place was left about his person. The dignified official who inflicted this severe punishment on the councillor was Sir Nicholas Waite, of whom afterwards the Civilians said, and no wonder, considering the perils of office under such circumstances—that they would rather be private sentinels at Fort St George than serve as second in Council under Sir Nicholas Waite."

Even at the present day the highest Indian officials are not noted for a strict observance of the public ordinances of Religion, but in the early part of the 18th century this unwillingness to attend Church was so universal that the authorities found it necessary to compel their attendance, by the very effectual means of cutting their pay.

"Whilst such was the propriety of those in high place, their subor-

dinates in the several factories, were equally dissolute in their lives and outrageous in their conduct. There was a general complaint of the sottishness of the factors. But for all this there was an outward recognition of the duties of religion, and the Company's servants, however reluctantly, attended Divine Service, according to regulation, far more frequently than in a later and more decorous age. They went to Chapel, as boys at Eton, or men at Oxford, and were booked by the Chaplain if they were not present. There were prayers morning and evening, and every member of the factory was ordered to attend eight times in a week, exclusive of Sunday attendance. If he failed in this he was fined, and the amount of fine out from his pay."

It can afford little pleasure to any well constituted mind to dwell on these wretched details, or on the still worse state of society when Warren Hastings was Governor. A brighter period of improvement dawned under the brief administration of Lord Cornwallis. An English gentleman, in advance of his age in the observance of all the decencies of society, he made every effort in his power to reform the Company's servants. Churches were built, and missionaries (though not avowedly under the protection of Government) were allowed every facility for carrying on their work. It was about this time that David Brown, who was to exercise an important influence on the progress of Christianity, arrived in India. He was the son of a poor farmer in Yorkshire and was educated at the expense of a benevolent clergyman. He entered Cambridge in 1782, the year in which Charles Simeon, the eloquent preacher, was ordained. Brown was a constant attendant at his Church, and a friendship was formed between the two young men which lasted for life. Soon after he had taken his degree, a delegate from the Indian Army arrived in London to select a Clergyman to superintend the Military Orphan Asylum, then in formation at Calcutta. Brown was selected, but he was obliged to wait for months for a passage out during which he was so straightened for money that he had thoughts of accepting a curacy in London, which was offered to him both by Newton and Cecil. His passage out was rendered miserable by his companions. "The Captain quarrelled with him because he would not sing a jolly song or drink his bottle of claret," while some of the passengers, imbued with the infidel opinions which preceded in Europe the French revolution, forced their obnoxious arguments upon him. He remained but a short time at the Orphan Asylum and was induced by Mr. Charles Grant, with whom he had formed a close intimacy, to leave it for the Mission Church. Here he had a European congregation only, but though anxious to benefit his own countrymen, his sympathies were not confined to them. He soon began to entertain a project for the conversion of the "dusky millions who had

been brought so mysteriously under our sway." How to promote it was the anxious object of his thoughts, and in Council with Mr. Charles Grant and other friends, he devised a scheme for a Church of England Mission to India.

To enlist the sympathies of the English public in his project, he wrote to his friend Simeon then in the dawn of his bright career. The appeal was not in vain. Simeon entered warmly into his views, and for the remainder of his life devoted himself with the greatest zeal to the extension of Christian Missions in India. In this he was ably seconded by Charles Grant, who had left India and was then a member of the Court of Directors, and by Wilberforce whose name is so honorably associated with the emancipation of British slaves. These gentlemen endeavoured, but without success, to win to their cause Sir John Shore who had succeeded Lord Cornwallis as Governor General of India, and who was in every respect a worthy follower of that distinguished statesman, in the path of improvement. Though it had his best wishes, Sir John Shore, as Governor General, could not give any active support to the cause of missions. In reply to the application of Grant and Wilberforce he wrote—

"The difficulties to be encountered and surmounted are many. Our countrymen in general are by no means disposed to assist the plan; some from indifference, others from political considerations, and some from motives of infidelity. Some would view the attempts without concern, others would ridicule or oppose it. If the attempt were made with the declared support and authority of Government, by the aid of misrepresentations it would excite alarm."

Sir John Shore was then busily occupied in endeavouring to reform his own countrymen. He must have felt that Christianity could never be preached with any effect so long as the natives were able to point to the immoral lives of the English residents as the strongest argument against it. His successor, Lord Wellesley, followed in the same course. Setting himself an example of the life a Christian gentleman should lead, he made a moral life a *sine qua non* of his patronage on all occasions. He increased the number of Churches and Chaplains, and gave the full weight of his authority to the ministrations of Brown and Buchanan.

In the year 1805 another of Simeon's highly gifted pupils landed in Calcutta—Henry Martyn who, notwithstanding his short career, has left behind him the reputation of having been one of the greatest missionaries which the Indian Church has seen. Like the most illustrious Christians in all ages Martyn was of humble origin—the son of a Cornish miner who raised himself to the position of a merchant's clerk. He had neither money nor

interest for advancing in life and yet before completing his twentieth year, he had graduated at Cambridge as Senior Wrangler. He there met and was thrown much into the society of Simeon. It was while listening to one of Simeon's powerful sermons, in which he spoke of the amount of good one single individual might do, that he first thought of becoming a missionary. With this intention he accepted an Indian Chaplaincy. Though this appointment is not generally considered an undesirable provision for a young curate, Martyn made, in accepting it, a sacrifice of no ordinary nature. His abilities, tested by a University career of singular distinction, must have secured for him the very highest place in England. In India he could look forward to nothing beyond the small income which would enable him to live like a gentleman and a rank corresponding to that of a Major in the Army. But his ambition was placed above the things of earth. It was his high aim to extend, as a missionary, the Gospel of Christ, and nobly did he labour in this work. Since the days of Xavier India had not seen a missionary so richly endowed with the true Apostolic spirit. In every society he raised his voice against immorality, irreligion and idolatry. On the outward bound East Indiaman he met men who, in the days of Warren Hastings, had taken part in the drunken orgies of Government House and the peculations of an earlier period. He boldly taxed them with their sins; and was insultingly told to keep his precepts for those who required them. He addressed, in language they had never before heard, the congregation of the Mission Church, in those days the most fashionable in Calcutta. His sermons gave the greatest offence to all; even his brother clergymen, who were probably little better than their flocks, spoke against him, saying that he spoke in a rhapsodies and mysteries, that he would drive men to despair and soon empty the Churches. In the European Hospitals, the soldiers would not listen to him, and forced him with jibes and sneers to leave. He succeeded but little better with the natives of the country. They however listened to him with a courtesy which he had not found amongst his own countrymen. He preached in Oordoo in the bazaars of Cawnpore and Agra, to thousands who probably came chiefly from curiosity. It must have been a novel sight for the Hindoo to see the English Sahib coming amongst them as a friend and brother endeavouring to make them better and holier men. But there it ended; he made no converts, he rescued no single soul from the ranks of heathenism. They did not oppose him. They listened with respect and attention to what he had to say and then returned to their idols.

The intense exertion he went through, acting on a constitution naturally weak, soon undermined his health, and forced him to seek a change in a sea voyage. Six years after reaching Bengal he left it never to return. He went to Bombay and from thence to Persia to complete his translation of the Bible into the language of that country. When far from friends and countrymen, a Christian apostle in a heathen land, he breathed his last.

There was much of the chivalric spirit of Christianity about Martyn. Mr. Kay, in ably summing up his character, compares him to Xavier. "In both there was the same burning love of 'their fellow men, the same eager spirit of adventure, the same 'vast power of annihilation, the same ecstatic communing with 'the unseen world.'" Much as we admire Martyn "as the very pink and essence of Evangelical Protestantism," we think he gains by a comparison with the great Jesuit leader. Under a different form of faith, and in an earlier period, he might have exhibited many of the same qualities, but he could never have been a Francis Xavier. He would have been much better suited to have accompanied Cortes or Pizarro to Southern America to convert the heathen by the aid of the inquisition. It is wrong to say that he had love for his fellowmen, he had great and unbounded love for his God, and he would have endured all things, even to death, to win a single soul from perdition, but his pure, upright, uncompromising mind made him so hate sin, that he had no pity for the weaknesses of erring men. The hardened sinner would turn from him, with an oath, whereas, under the influence of Xavier, he would have been softened to tears. In the hospitals, at the death bed, in the lazar house, where Martyn failed entirely, there the great Jesuit was most at home, and there his labours were the most effective. With the exception of a few Christian friends who understood his worth, Martyn was disliked by the men of his own day almost to hatred; whereas Xavier was loved by all, who knew him, with a love which was almost idolatry. They had however so many other points in common that few will doubt the propriety of grouping them together. With both the extension of Christianity was a passion, which absorbed every other thought and feeling. They were both largely endowed with its chivalrous spirit, which made them seek ever the post of danger, where suffering and affliction were to be found. They both laboured in the same country, and with the same disheartening results. And, whatever their relative merits may be, they will ever stand out together as the two great Apostolic

Missionaries of India; and as men who, in their lives and actions followed as closely in the footsteps of their common Master, as any of his immediate followers.

It would be unfair to the Baptist Mission, which has done so much for Christianity in India, not to refer as briefly to it as our space admits of. We pass it by with less hesitation as a clear and able resumé of its operations has appeared in a late number of this *Review*. When the History of Christianity in India comes to be written its brightest page will tell of the Baptist Missionaries—of Carey, Marshman and Ward—the cobbler, the weaver, and the printer, who so nobly laboured for its extension. Their names are honourably associated with the abolition of some of the most revolting practices of the Hindoos. It was by their exertions that the Saugor sacrifices were abolished, and that Hindoo mothers ceased to throw their babes into the Ganges as a propitiation to the deity. They first drew attention to the terrible rite of Suttee and proved that, within a circuit of thirty miles from Government House, four hundred widows were annually burnt alive with the bodies of their husbands, and it was chiefly owing to them that it was abolished; and if they were not successful in making converts they did more than any other Missionaries, either before or since, to weaken the gross superstition in which the mind of the Hindoo is bound and to undermine the foundations of his false faith.

In the year of Martyn's death, the Indian Government which had always been hostile to the spread of Christianity deported five Baptist Missionaries, and to the lasting disgrace of the British rule, it will be told that the only fault which these good men had committed was the exercise of their high-calling. Their triumph was but short-lived. In a few months the great struggle commenced, which was to free the Missionaries for ever from the power of the local Government. The cause had been manfully advocated for years in all parts of England by Wilberforce, Charles Grant, Lord Teignmouth, and other zealous Christians. To effect this object they had braved public and private ridicule. They had been called fanatics, dangerous intermeddlers, though all they contended for was toleration, and that the official suppression of Christianity should cease. The old charter of the Company was about to expire, and a new charter, in connection with which various improvements in commercial affairs were to be discussed in Parliament was to be granted. Now was the time for Wilberforce and his friends to bring in a bill for the Christian liberty of India, and for the establishment of an Episcopal see. The sympathy of the peo-

ple of England was warmly enlisted on their side. Petitions poured in from all parts of the country and from persons of all denominations. The Government was forced to take action, and a clause giving a Bishopric to Calcutta was passed without a division. A special day was fixed for the discussion of the Missionary clause. Lord Castlereagh introduced the subject and gave it the support of Government. It met some opposition from the old Indians which appears to have been received with as little respect by the House as the speeches of the similar class in the present day. One of these—Sir Henry Montgomery—contended that the religion of the Hindoos was “pure and unexceptionable, and that he would not risk the lives of his 30,000 fellow countrymen in India, to save the souls of all the Hindoos.” Wilberforce followed, and in one of his happiest speeches showed the absurdity of such a position. “He quoted History, he quoted the Missionaries, he quoted the Civil Servants of the Company, to prove that the people of India were the most abandoned people on the face of the earth,” and he heaped authority on authority to convince the house of the claims this benighted people had on the sympathy of England. He won the day;—the first reading was carried by a large majority and the third without a division.

And so India was thrown open to Missionaries of all denomination and the episcopacy, the establishment of which can scarcely be said to have realised the expectations of those who worked so hard for its introduction, was conceded. If the earlier Bishops had the inclination, they had not much opportunity for advancing Christianity in India. Within fifteen years from the appointment of the first, four had died at their posts; none had served more than five years in India and one for only a few months. With the exception of Charles Grant, those who nominated them were not men who wished well to the Indian Church. The episcopacy had been conceded to the popular cry at home, but the Court took care that nothing but the strict letter of the law should be carried out. The new Bishop had very nearly a sinecure. He was given a suitable salary and a palace in Calcutta, but no duties were assigned to him. The Court had not required a head for their Church, and they omitted nothing to make it evident that the appointment was uncalled for. The Chaplains, who formed the principal portion of the Indian Clergy, were not, in any way, under his authority. Like other officers they were moved about, in general orders, at the pleasure of the local Government. He had no patronage. The Chaplains rose in the service by seniority, and so far as worldly interests are concerned, the negligent and careless were

as well off after 20 years' service as the most active and industrious. He had no voice in their selection; the appointments were made by the Directors and given as interest or inclination dictated. His brother prelates in England had seats in Parliament, and took part in the Government of the country. The Bishop of Calcutta had no place in Council and no influence in any matter, whether secular or clerical. When Wilberforce and his friends fought the battle for episcopacy, it was contended by their opponents that a Bishop would alarm the Natives even to the danger of the stability of the Empire. It is needless now to say that such anticipations were groundless. His Lordship has excited no more fear than the steeple of his own Cathedral. The Court guarded carefully against any such contingency. They had influence enough to secure the nomination of men, more remarkable for discretion than zeal, and whose forte lay more in scholarly acquirements than in controversy. Bishop Heber, who was perhaps more of a Missionary than any of those who have occupied the see of Calcutta, always enjoined moderation and prudence. In his interesting journal he praises the Missionaries of Chunar for these qualities, and contrasts them favorably with their brethren in Calcutta who followed "the system of street preaching and obtruded themselves in a forward and offensive manner on the 'public notice.'" It is not altogether certain that his Lordship, in advocating such principles, may not have been carrying prudence too far. No part of the office of a Missionary is more strictly insisted on by the founder of our Faith, than the duty of preaching the Gospel. His disciples were enjoined to go into the towns and villages boldly for this purpose. And we think that the Calcutta Missionaries in following their example cannot have been very far astray, notwithstanding Bishop Heber's strong disapproval.

His predecessor, Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, who was the first British Indian Bishop, was not of the class of men to excite much fear in the enemies of Christianity. He was an accomplished scholar and writer, but with no liberal views of the duties of a Christian Minister. Mr. Kaye describes him as a "narrow-minded formalist." There is reason to suppose that this is no false estimate of his character. On the way out he hesitated to preach in a factory at Madeira as it was not regularly consecrated. In India we find him giving minute directions about the building of Churches. Writing to Archdeacon Barrow, about the Surat Church, he says, "*Pray direct that it be placed with the altar to the East*" and again "*Pray request Mr. Carr to take care that it is built in the proper direction East*"

and West ; so that the altar be Eastward."—" *There has been sad irregularity.*"

He seems to have been greatly harassed by the Presbyterians. India was not, in his estimation, large enough for two State Churches. The Court had sent out in the same ship with the Bishop two Clergymen of the Scotch Church, who horrified the orthodox Prelate by asking for the alternate use of the Cathedral as they had no place of worship. We need hardly say that their petition was rejected.* But the Court not only imported Scottish Ministers, it even allowed them to perform the marriage ceremony for the Members of their own Church. "*It will be easily imagined*" says the Bishop's biographer "*that occurrences of this description were not peculiarly animating or consolatory to Bishop Middleton.*" His great grievance was the question of jurisdiction. He had here some reasonable ground for complaint. The Company had sent him out as a Bishop, but had given him no Clergy. The Chaplains were removed from his charge and the country was as free, by the new act, to Missionaries of every creed as it was to himself. He had every right to expect the command of the regiment of Chaplains. It was unwise of the Court to make a sinecure of his office—but as regards the Missionaries his complaints were childish in the extreme. In writing to England he complains.

"That the Missionaries in orders of the Church Missionary Society are coming out continually. Three arrived very lately, and they will become in a few years the parochial Clergy *but then what becomes of the Bishop's jurisdiction?*" Again "as to my recognising the Missionaries, what can I do? They will soon have in India a body of ordained Clergymen nearly as numerous as the Company's Chaplains, and I must either license them or silence them."

And so he went on, grumbling at the want of jurisdiction—at schism in Calcutta—at dissent and at Missionaries for the four years he lived in India. Waking up for a little, at the last, to the importance of missionary enterprise, he founded, by the aid of the liberal Church in England, on the banks of the Hooghly, the Missionary College which takes its name from him, and which, notwithstanding the able men who have been always connected with it, has had as unsuccessful a career in India as his own.

Fifteen months after his death, Bishop Heber, the son of a gentleman of ancient family and good estate in Yorkshire, landed in Calcutta. His early years were marked by great precocity of intellect. "He had," says Mr. Kaye, "such readiness of

* Bishop Middleton's decision on this occasion has not, for the honor of the Church be it said, been concurred in by all his successors. Within the past year a similar application was made to the present Bishop of Calcutta from some Mission station, which met with a very different answer.

'apprehension and quickness of imagination, that he was a scholar and a poet before he was *six years old*." He appears to have been a remarkably quick boy, but to call him "a poet and a scholar" when still in the nursery is, to say the least, somewhat hyperbolic. He was a member of Brazennose College, Oxford, and was early distinguished for his poetical taste and accurate scholarship. Many of his hymns have become household words in England, and are superior to almost any which the English Church has produced. He obtained a Fellowship and was shortly after installed into the living of Hodnet in the country of Salop, where in the easy life of a parish minister, relieved by a choice circle of friends and by frequent contributions to the *Quarterly Review*, he passed sixteen years. Earnest in the discharge of parochial duties, and beloved by his parishioners, it is not to be wondered at if he sometimes looked back with longing eyes from the palace in Calcutta to his quiet vicarage in England. He was much disappointed on arriving in India to find the true state of Christianity and how very little had been done for its increase. He felt wholly discouraged until Archdeacon Corrie had pointed out the vast improvement which he himself had witnessed, both in the efforts for the conversion of the Heathen and in the important reformation in all grades of Christian Society. He pointed to the Baptist Mission then making so much progress in the Burmese territory; he pointed to the conversion of numbers of Romanists and convinced him that, though slowly, the work of evangelization was gradually progressing. Determined to make himself acquainted with every particular of these statements, he made a tour of inspection through India. His predecessor had gone to the South, he took first the provinces of Northern and Western India. He has left a most interesting account of this journey in his diary. The natives, as might have been anticipated, took no alarm at the visit of the Lord Padre Sahib. On the contrary, they crowded round him, Fakirs, Brahmins, and Moulvies were alike anxious to converse with him, and they showed their animosity only by asking for bucksheesh.

"From the Brahmins and Moulvies I have had frequent visits. Some of the Mussulmans have affected to treat me as of nearly the same faith with themselves, and to call me their ecclesiastical superior, as well as of the Christians, but these modest compliments have generally concluded with a modest statement (like that of Stern's Franciscan) of the poverty of their order. A rupee or two, with a request that they would remember me in their prayers, I have found, on such occasions, extremely well taken; and it has been, I hope, no compromise of religious opinions."

From the North West he proceeded to Bombay, where he

reported favourably of the European community and the interest taken by all, even the highest officers of Government, in Missionary operations. He next visited Ceylon, of which he writes that "he had better hopes of an abundant harvest of 'Christianity here than in all India besides.'" The result of this tour was the formation, on his return to Calcutta, of a diocesan committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In the following year he made a similar tour in the Madras Presidency, visiting all the Missionary stations and being received, everywhere, with respect and attention by all classes of the community. He never returned to Calcutta. At Trichinopoly on the 2nd of April 1821 he was found dead in his bath. Thus in the prime of life, full of intellect—full of charity—his mind dwelling to the last on the most effectual way to work out his darling object, the promotion of Christianity in the East—without a thought of his impending fate—without a beloved friend near him—alone—and in a foreign country—he closed his life.

Without detracting, in any way, from the character of this excellent man it may be doubted if his death was any loss to the Mission Church of India. His gentle disposition, amiable even to weakness, rendered him eminently unsuited for the stormy life which the Bishop of Calcutta, who is to advance Christianity, must lead. The duties of an English Clergyman in the quiet repose of Hodnet Vicarage, with his time divided between parochial affairs and literary pursuits, were but indifferent training for one, who, as head of the Indian Church, was to stand against a hostile Government, and an indifferent people, in the Christian warfare. His duties to the Government he discharged better than his predecessor, and as well as any Bishop who has succeeded him. But it was not for this work that Wilberforce and his friends fought so hard to introduce episcopacy into India. They at least expected that the highest Church dignitary would be also the most active promoter of Christianity. Though the greater portion of his time in India was taken up with Missionary tours, we cannot help thinking that the small good, done in this way, was largely undone by a weak and temporising disposition. It is not from the lips of the Bishop of Calcutta, that we are to expect the advocacy of Government non-interference, and reproof to those, who, in imitation of its founder, preached Christianity in the streets of Calcutta. Those who deal with the temporal interests of man, may decline to take any part in the eternal welfare of their subjects; but it surely is the duty of a Christian Bishop to tell Governors, who act up to such principles, that their deeds are contrary to the

true spirit of Christianity. The extension of the Christian Religion was the first object of his life; but, to accomplish it, he could only timidly whisper its doctrines into men's ears. It was not thus that St. Paul acted when, from the crowded forum of the most civilized nation of antiquity, he taunted the men of Athens with their idolatry. It was not thus that Christianity has risen, above all obstacles in all ages. Its course has been ever marked by a bold and manly front, by a fearless disregard of rulers and princes, and by the blood of many a martyred saint. If the Church is ever to make way in India, it will be through the same fiery ordeal to which, in other lands, it owes all its triumphs. They, to whom its extension here is confided, will do well to consider whether the timid and vacillating policy which has hitherto marked its progress, does not proceed chiefly from the fear of man, and is an evidence that the Christian of the present day has not that confidence in the power and protection of its divine author, which brought the early Church through so much.

The year 1833 marked another epoch in the History of Christianity in India. Twenty years had elapsed since the power of deporting Missionaries was taken from the Government. The same party, who had brought this about, now, in another generation, proceeded to attack the most disgraceful portion of our Indian rule and demanded that the Government should sever all connection with idolatry. By the assistance of Charles Grant, son of the supporter of Wilberforce, and President of the Board of Control, a despatch, ordering amongst other important alterations, the abolition of the Pilgrim tax, was forwarded to Calcutta. The wording was so indefinite that it gave the local Government a pretext for delay. The Directors, conceiving that they had done their duty by signing it, gave themselves no more concern in the matter, and so it was shelved for more than five years. But, though the local Government wished to strangle this important despatch, the interests involved were too important to enable them to effect their object. A memorial was drawn up and signed by a large number of the respectable part of the European community, including Chaplains, Missionaries, Civil and Military Officers. The memorialists prayed that they might be relieved from duties, which, as Christians, they felt to be repugnant to their consciences. It was sent to the Governor General through Bishop Corrie, who was told by the Chief Secretary, that the contents were not in accordance with the opinions of Government, and that he should not have made himself a channel of communication for a document fraught with danger to the peace of the

country. Many officers did not confine themselves to a mere remonstrance. Sir Perigrine Maitland proved his sincerity by resigning his office as Commander-in-Chief in Madras, and Mr. Nelson, instigated by the same considerations, resigned the Civil Service. The strong opposition, raised in India, led the House of Commons to interfere, and Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control, caused a despatch to be sent which could not be misunderstood, and from the date of its publication in the *Calcutta Gazette*, the connection of the Indian Government with the idolatry of the natives has ceased.

The effect of the Act which opened the country to Missionaries, was the arrival in India of a large number of clergymen of all denominations, who are generally called Missionaries, but who might with perhaps greater propriety be called schoolmasters. The method they have generally adopted for the spread of Christianity is by opening schools for secular and religious instruction. Many of these institutions are now open in different parts of the country. Almost all are presided over by men of a liberal education, most of whom are in orders. They have consequently found no difficulty in securing pupils. A thirst for English education, as opening a door for employment in offices, is a marked feature in the Hindoos of the present day, and they do not appear to have any more objection to attending Missionary schools than they have to attend those under the direct management of Government. It is true that the pupils are made to read the Bible at the former institutions; but the secular education is good, often the best to be had, and the cost is insignificant. Many persons, with apparently just grounds, think that the Missionary does not follow the course which is most conducive to the spread of Christianity by attending chiefly to the secular or even the religious education of the young. It is not altogether certain that the mind of the child is the proper door through which to arrive at the conversion of a nation. Such was not the practice of the early Christians. As men they addressed themselves to the reasoning faculties of men, and we know with what success. We wonder where Christianity would have been if the Apostles had confined their labours to village schools. Many question even the propriety, on moral grounds, of this course. A child, by the first law of nature, looks for a spiritual guide to his parents, and who shall say it can be right to interfere with this natural instinct. Can he, as a child, learn another faith and worship another God without a breach of the universal commandment to honor his father and mother? These are questions which the Missionaries, and those who support them in their good work, would do well to ask themselves. Now that

the Parliament of England have guaranteed a clear field for their operations, they should be doubly careful that the plentiful harvest to Christianity, which it is their high privilege to reap, be not lost by any false move on their part.

We have heard much in these latter days of the policy which excludes the Bible from Government schools. Since the mutiny this question has assumed a more serious aspect, as having come up freighted with the authority of Sir John Lawrence and those distinguished statesmen, who, from the Punjaub, may be said to have saved India. The Government have hitherto rejected every attempt to teach the Bible in their schools. Any departure from this policy would be considered, we fear, a violation of the Royal Proclamation, and a breach of faith which might not soon be forgotten. Nor is it certain that it would be attended with any benefit to Christianity. In the Missionary schools the Bible forms a part of the daily study. These Institutions are attended by many thousand students, who are not Christians, and yet it is very rare to see any converts. They read the Bible (with all reverence be it said) as they would the Grecian mythology; they see neither good nor harm in it; it does not deter them from attending the Mission schools; their object is to learn English, and when this is accomplished they go away, and make no use of their Bible knowledge except, perhaps, for the introduction of quotations (often blasphemous) into petitions to European gentlemen.

At a late meeting of the Missionary Conference the Rev. Mr. Long urged strongly the necessity for Native Missionaries. We believe that if Christianity is ever to take a hold in the people of India it will be by native agency. It is to them we must look for instruments to effect any decided success amongst the people of India. They are fitted by nature to bear up against the climate so destructive to European life; they can endure exposure to the sun which would prostrate our strength; they have a fluency of speech in their own language and an acquaintance with the habits of the people which foreigners can never attain. If suitable native agents, impressed with a firm conviction of the truth of Christianity, and prepared to risk even life itself for its extension, can be procured, they will do more in five years for the evangelization of India than all the European Missionaries have accomplished in the memory of man.

ART. III.—*The Administration of Oudh. First Report, to March 1859, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. 1859.*

OUDH was formerly inhabited chiefly by a Brahmin race of Hindoos, and was overrun by a portion of the Mahomedan conquerors of India under Syud Salar, nephew of Mahmood of Guznee, in A. D. 1160. The Sheiks as elsewhere, settled where they conquered, and established themselves in various villages, of which Ajoodiah and Luckshmanpore, the originals of the present Fyzabad and Lucknow, were two of the principal. Oudh formed an integral part of the Mahomedan conquest, and in the reign of Akbar Shah 1590, was one of the 11 Soubahs into which he divided his empire. The Soubahdars continued to be appointed from the Court of Delhi, and seldom resided much in their Soubah, till the year 1747—when Munzoor Ali Khan, Sufdur Jung, Soubahdar of Oudh, obtained the title of Nawab Vizier, and fixed his residence at Fyzabad. His son and successor, Azoofood-Dowlah in 1776 removed his residence to Lucknow, and Fyzabad from that date resigned its pretensions to be called the Capital of Oudh. Fyzabad was the best situation for commercial intercourse with other countries, but Lucknow was by far the best, because the most central position, for the administration of the internal affairs of Oudh, and became essentially more so after the conquest of Rohilcund about 1774, and the annexation of the greater portion of that province to Oudh. The Nawabs of Oudh had early claimed the assistance of the English as allies, in helping them to dispose of their troublesome neighbours, and this assistance had generally been effectively afforded them by our Government, but not without making those who applied for it pay dearly for the same. The chiefs of Rohilcund originally applied to the Nawab of Oudh for assistance in driving the Mahrattas out of their country, promising them the sum of 40 lakhs of Rupees if they succeeded. Assisted by the British troops under Sir Robert Barker, who as usual did the greatest share of the work, the Oudh forces succeeded in clearing Rohilcund of the Mahrattas. The Rohillas however when out of danger, refused to pay the stipulated sum; an agreement was consequently entered into with the Nawab Vizier of Oudh by Warren Hastings, then Governor General—in August, 1773—by which the British were on the one hand to employ an army against the Afghan conquerors of Rohilcund, and to unite the country to Oudh—and the Nawab Vizier on the other hand was to pay all the expenses of the war, and farther to pay a sum of forty lakhs of

Rupees into the Calcutta treasury. The Moghul rulers of Delhi had transferred the districts of Corah and Allahabad to the Mahrattas, but regardless of this deed of the imbecile Shah Alum, and in order to prevent that central country falling into the possession of a hostile tribe, the British had thrown a garrison into Allahabad. On the Nawab Vizier of Oudh expressing a wish to possess these countries, Warren Hastings (19th August 1773) consented to transfer the districts of Corah and Allahabad to Oudh, on condition of the latter power paying fifty lakhs of Rupees, 20 to be paid on the spot, and 30 within two years. The conquest of Rohilcund though agreed on as above, was not effected until April 23, 1774, when the British troops under Colonel Champion, nominally assisted by the Nawab and his rabble who took care to keep well out of the way as long as fighting was going on but who came up in time for the plunder, entirely routed the Rohilla Army of 25,000 men, leaving 2,000 of their number dead on the field. Fyzoollah Khan, chief of the Rohillas, surrendered half of his treasure and property to the Nawab, who also took possession of the whole of his property, granting him merely the small district of Rampore in jaghire. The Rohillas were thus almost entirely rooted out of Rohilcund; their number had never exceeded 80,000, and of these after the above defeat but few remained with Fyzoollah Khan, the majority starting in search of adventures all over the country. The Nawab Vizier was bound to respect the inoffensive Hindoos, the original inhabitants of the country, and of these about 2,000,000 men came under his dominion.

In 1778 a treaty was concluded by Lord Teignmouth with the Nawab Vizier Saadut Ali Khan, by which the Nawab was to pay £760,000 annually on the one hand to the British Government, and the British Government on the other were to take him under their entire protection. This arrangement however was never properly carried out, and on the 10th November 1801 a fresh treaty was made by the Marquis Wellesley, by which the Nawab Vizier Saadut Ali Khan ceded the half of his territories in perpetuity to the British, on the sole condition of their protection against internal discord and foreign aggression. The country was then divided into two equal halves, according to the calculated revenues of the time—the British half consisting of what are now known as the districts of Rohilcund, Allahabad, Furruckabad, Mynpoorie, Etawah, Gorruckpoor, Azimghur, Cawnpoor and Futtehpoor; together with the lands of Khyreeghur and Kunchunpoor, which were subsequently re-ceded to the Oudh Government. Each half represented at the time a reve-

nue of one crore and 33 lakhs of Rupees; in 1848 the revenues of the British half had increased to two crores and 12 lakhs per annum, whereas in the Oudh half, although the territory had in the meanwhile been increased and ours consequently diminished by a gift from us to them of Khyreeghur and Kunchunpoor representing a value of 2,10,000 Rupees per annum, the revenue received by the Oudh Government in all had sunk to one crore of Rupees, and of this sum probably not more than one-half actually reached the Royal treasury. This falling off in the revenue did not so much arise from the want of proper cultivation of the land, as from an Irish unwillingness on the part of the lessees or contractors of revenue, to pay the rent charges which they themselves probably had fixed.

In 1805, Saadut Ali Khan, the most talented and upright ruler who ever sat on the musnud of Oudh, sent to Lord Lake for the siege of Bhurtpoor, 500 Elephants, 8,000 Bullocks for the Artillery, and 500 Horses. The loan was like most of the loans made by the sovereigns of Oudh, converted by our magnanimous Government into a gift, and of all the animals above enumerated, only 280 Elephants returned to their original locale.

In 1822 Ghazee-ood-Deen Hyder, son and successor of Saadut Ali Khan, obtained the title of King. But like ancient Rome under the emperors, Oudh flourished but little, and improved not at all under her kingly rulers, her palmy times having most undoubtedly been during the few years which immediately succeeded the division of her territory with the British, when under the firm rule of Saadut Ali Khan justice was established in the country, and a balance of £14,000,000 left in a public treasury which on his accession he had found empty. This surplus was entirely exhausted by his successors, without any public improvement having been made, and in 1850 the expenditure of the then Reigning Monarch was 12 lakhs over and above his annual income. The universal anarchy which eventually prevailed became so great, the Ministers and all public officers were so corrupt, and the kings so debauched and so incompetent, as to produce by their misgovernment a state of crime and of confusion, unparalleled probably in the history of mankind.

In the land made over to us by the treaty of 1801, the majority of the landowners, pay us $\frac{2}{3}$ of their rents net, whereas in Oudh even the best of the large landowners only pay $\frac{1}{3}$ of their rent to Government; many did not pay one-fifth or one-tenth, and numbers paid none whatever. In the districts of Khyreeghur and Kunchunpoor which were re-ceded by us to Oudh in May 1816, the nominal value had sunk from 210,000 to 16,000 Ru-

pees, and little even of this small sum was ever collected. The country, which is really a beautiful and productive one, had a reputation for unhealthiness, which was far greater than it really deserved. Only four months, viz., December, January, February and March were supposed to admit of the presence of a stranger in these districts. On the approach of any Government troops for the collection of revenue, the whole population retired to their jungle fastnesses, and before any effectual means could be taken to dislodge them therefrom, fever or the fear of it warned the invaders to return to Lucknow. The recusants to pay then in their turn represented themselves as the aggrieved parties, and declared that what with their own absence, and the presence of the troops, so much damage had been done to their crops, that no sovereign could have the conscience to claim any revenue from them for years to come. Nor was this a solitary instance; whenever a distant talookdar was called upon to pay his quota to the revenue, he immediately considered himself an injured individual, summoned his following, retired to his jungle, fortified his position, and defied the supreme power. Many proprietors encouraged the growth of large patches of jungle for the sole purpose of enabling them to resist effectually the collection of revenue, and in such resistance they were frequently successful. In 1848, there were in Oudh 24 separate belts of such jungles of recent formation, covering in all a superficial surface of 886 square miles. There were also 250 mud forts, mounting together 500 guns, and containing in the aggregate garrisons of 100,000 armed men. All the above means and munitions of war were kept up for the avowed object of setting at defiance the authority of Government. Nor did they confine themselves solely to a resistance of the constituted authorities, their lawless violence frequently broke out in indiscriminate robbery and murder, and in plundering aggressions on the neighbouring estates. Many of the weaker holders or farmers of property thus became absorbed by their more powerful neighbours. Plunder, rapine and murder, all carried to excess, thus formed the favorite occupation of these knights of Oudh, knights however merely in their position of being feudatories of broad lands, and commandants of large bodies of retainers, their rough violence unpolished by one noble quality, and their shameless profligacy unredeemed by one gentle virtue.

Men of influence and standing who had committed the most atrocious robberies and murders in the Oudh districts, met not only with safety, but with protection, on crossing to the British side of the frontier.

Rughbur Singh, the contractor for Gonda and Baraich, during '46 and '47, by his rascally mismanagement in two years reduced absolutely to waste land, these naturally fertile, and previously well cultivated districts. One of this wretch's agents, a fiend of as deep a dye as himself called Beharee Lall, at Bussuntpoor, in 1846, caused 70 persons "en masse" to be put to death with the most cruel tortures. The arch-fiend Rughbur Singh himself at various times during his hour of power tortured and murdered in detail victims who in the aggregate amounted to more than that number—and all for the sole purpose directly or indirectly of extracting money from them. He was moreover in a chronic state of rebellion all the time against Government, he would carry away all the women, and remove all the cattle from any district which he wished to oppress, and besides these wholesale crimes, committed many single murders and acts of violence.

Yet this monster escaped with impunity into the British provinces, notwithstanding that many representations were made to the British Resident at Lucknow as to his conduct—and subsequent to his escape he carried on intrigues at Lucknow, with the cognizance of the Government, and through the means of the very same agent he had previously employed in the carrying out of his atrocious plans. Nor was Rughbur Singh's a solitary instance, similar crimes were committed with similar impunity throughout the dominions of Oudh. Justice in short was at a stand still. Its administrators were either asleep, or when aroused, were so corrupt in their practice that they had better still have slept. When by some extraordinary exertion of energy, the most prominent rascals in a district, were convicted of robbery or murder by the local authorities, and sent up to Lucknow for punishment, they easily procured their release by bribing the Court officials, and then returned to their districts animated by seven devils worse than those which previously had possessed them, fearless of further punishment, and burning to wreak their vengeance on the unfortunate Magistrate, who had been instrumental in bringing to light their former offences.

Infanticide of all female infants was the constant practice of the Jombunsie and other Rajpoot families or clans. This crime was committed entirely to avoid the expense of giving a large marriage portion with their daughters, which they had to do, if they married equals—or on the other hand to avoid the disgrace and loss of caste which would ensue if, tempted by a sum of money, they should dispose of their hands to inferiors. Without losing caste they could only give their daughters in

marriage to two other clans, the Rathore, and the Chouhan. Scarcely any representatives of these families lived on the Oudh side of the Ganges, it therefore became so constant a custom as to fall into a rule among these Jombunsie Rajpoots, to destroy their female infants as soon as born. The father was generally absent on these occasions, and the mother often insensible, these series of child murders were committed by the female relatives, who either killed the child by poison, or stuffed the little creature's mouth up so as to prevent its breathing, they then put the body in an earthen pot, and buried it under the floor of the room where it had been born—lighting a fire over the grave after it had been filled up—and when the fire had burned out, plastering the floor over with lime and sand as if nothing had happened. On the thirteenth day the priest of the parish came and cooked his victuals and afterwards ate them over the place where the infant body lay buried, thus in their opinion purifying the place, and taking the sins of the parents on his own head. Among poor people this dinner to the priest was all the offering that was expected, but the rich had in addition to give donations on the occasion as propitiatory gifts, to all the neighbouring Brahmins.

Much abuse occurred in the farming out of the revenues of districts. If any one wished to make a contract for a year, for a place the revenue of which was 3,00,000 Rupees per annum, he had first to purchase the contract by paying a bribe of 50,000 Rupees to some one of the Court favorites. This sum, equal often to one-sixth of the whole revenue, had of course to be extracted as rack rent from the wretched cultivators as a preliminary measure, in addition to the already sufficiently onerous regular rent charge, with which their land was burdened. Many purposely raised the assessment on lands to a nominal sum which they knew the holders would be unable to pay, and this with the avowed object of possessing themselves of the lands in question. On the heavy assessment not being paid, the unfortunate cultivators were ruthlessly seized, their property confiscated and their families dishonoured.

Nor was it only in the raising of revenue that the most disgraceful irregularities took place. An entire absence of the commonest rules of honesty characterized the way in which it was disbursed. Saadut Ali Khan taking a fancy for Mahomdee, planted a garden and trees there, and formed a small establishment, to the keeping up of which he appropriated 60,000 Rupees a year from the Royal revenues. This sum continued to be regularly charged in the manager's accounts during the reigns of four successive sovereigns, none of whom ever visited the place.

In the reign of the late king, the Establishment for which the 60,000 Rupees were supposed to be expended, consisted of two Bullocks and two Gardeners; all the servants had been discharged 30 years before. Another instance is as follows. In October 1850 it was required to remove some Artillery from Lucknow. The gentleman who had charge of the Park had been drawing allowances regularly for the food of 1750 bullocks, that being the number which had originally been entrusted to him. On enquiry being made it was found however that 1730 had been made away with by this individual years before, and that though allowances for the whole number had continued to be drawn only 20 actually remained.

This same gentleman, Aujum-ood-Dowlah, in 1835 during the reign of Nusscer-ood Deen Hyder received charge of 16 Royal Bullocks for the forage of which he was to draw one Rupee per day each. In the reign of the next monarch some ten years afterwards, all the Bullocks were ordered to be mustered and amongst others these 16. As they had been made away with by the corrupt favorite, they of course could not be produced, however with unblushing effrontery, he at once sent to the bazaar for 16 of the first bullocks which he could find, and presented them at muster as those of which he had received charge. He was upbraided for their poor condition, and the animals were ordered to be sold, they were so, and shortly after the sale had taken place the real owners come to claim them, they however could neither get them nor the price of them, nor could Aujum-ood-Dowlah be made to disgorge any of the subsistence money, which he had for so many years criminally possessed himself of.

Subsistence money at four pice a day was allowed to be drawn for prisoners in the public jails. Of these the darogah was in the habit of pocketing two pice a day for himself, and turning the prisoners loose in the streets to beg for enough to make up the difference from common charity, if they did not succeed in raising which they not unfrequently were starved to death before they had been many weeks confined.

The king signed no public documents, saw no public functionaries, and transacted no public business. His whole attention was absorbed in his fiddlers and danseuses. No wonder that the notes of the Resident were disregarded, as many of them were not even received. In October 1850, the Court favorite whose duty it was to convey letters to the king fell into disgrace, and on his house being searched, many letters from the Resident marked emergent and immediate, were found among his effects unattended to, and even unopened.

Why it may be asked did our Government allow all these

abuses to be carried on, when they had taken upon themselves the protection of Oudh against all foreign and domestic enemies, and when they had bound themselves to suppress all rebellions and disorders within the Oudh dominions. In sooth they were somewhat sluggish, and if the Oudh Government neglected their duty entirely, the British on their part, as far as related to Oudh, cannot be said to have performed their duty conscientiously. Representations were from time to time made to the Resident by the Supreme Government, and remonstrances were by him made to the Government of Oudh. When however sent by letter they generally failed in reaching their destination, and when made verbatim they equally failed in producing any improving effect. With respect to the actual interference of the troops under our command, disputes and difficulties, which arose out of early interference in behalf of the claims of Government, gave our authorities a disrelish for subsequent meddling, and this, superadded to the lack of energy which becomes habitual, and to the apathy which oppresses European employés when long resident in so enervating a climate, eventuated in our leaving the desperadoes of Oudh pretty much to themselves, so long as they confined their desperate doings within the limits of their own proper frontier. Moreover our interference when made was not always successful, and instances occurred of the small parties of British troops being overwhelmed by the irregular miscreants whom they had been sent to chastise. The small force which we originally placed in Oudh for the purpose of protecting it from external and internal enemies, was from time to time diminished, and the description of the force as well as its distribution were altered so as to be less efficient for the purpose for which they had been intended.

Originally we had stationed in Oudh, one Regiment of Regular Cavalry, 2 Companies of Artillery with 14 guns and 6 Regiments of Regular Infantry. The Cavalry were stationed at Pertaubghur, and the Artillery and Infantry were distributed, in Pertaubghur, Secrora, Sultanpoor, Setapoor, and Lucknow, at the latter of which two out of the six Regiments of Infantry were permanently stationed. In 1815 we withdrew the Regiment of Cavalry wishing to make use of it ourselves in the Nepaulese war, after which we retained it for the Mahrattah war in 1817-18, resented it back to Pertaubghur in 1820, and finally withdrew it in 1821. Four guns and half a Company of Artillery, were withdrawn from Oudh entirely in 1835, as also was one Regiment of Native Infantry. The remainder were quartered in Lucknow, Secrora being done away with as a British mili-

tary station, although it continued for some years afterwards to be occupied by Artillery and Infantry, from the King of Oudh's own force, under the command of Captain Barlow; Secrora is one of the best situations in Oudh for a Military Cantonment; a healthy locality, water of good quality and in abundance, and a central position, both as regard the principal towns and with reference to the principal means of communication. It is situated about eight miles to the North East of Byram Ghat on the River Sarjoo, which is there a clear flowing stream with rich meadow land on either side. In 1837 two more Regiments and one-half Company of Artillery were withdrawn, the latter having six guns attached to them. Pertaubghur which is a convenient and healthy spot about half way between Sultanpoor and Allahabad then ceased to be a military station, and Setapoor and Sultanpoor were no longer occupied by artillery. The whole British force proper then in Oudh, consisted of one Company of Artillery with six guns, and three Regiments of Infantry, all the above being stationed at Lucknow. There were besides two Regiments, forming part of an Oudh auxiliary force, which the Oudh Government were at first bound to keep up at an expense of 15 lakhs per annum, but of which burden the British Government subsequently relieved them. The force was intended to consist of two Regiments of Cavalry, five of Infantry, and two Companies of Artillery. The treaty calling on the Oudh Government to keep up this force, was ratified by the Governor General in 1837, but cancelled, in as far as it applied to the force, by the Court of Directors in 1839. Only a part of the auxiliary force had by this time been raised and of such part we only retained two Regiments of Infantry, which Regiments we took into our pay, and stationed the one at Sultanpoor, and the other at Setapoor. These men in 1839, together with three Regiments of Infantry and one Company of Artillery mentioned above as stationed at Lucknow, formed the sole force in British pay stationed in Oudh, from that time until the annexation of the country.

Meanwhile the native force had been steadily increasing. In 1797 at the death of Asuf-ood-Dowlah, the military force of Oudh of all ranks amounted to 80,000 men in the direct pay of Government. The treaty of 1801 provided that it should only consist of four Battalions of Regular Infantry, one Battalion Irregular ditto, 2,000 Cavalry, and 300 Artillery, with such proportion of armed police as might be necessary for the preservation of order and the collection of the revenue. Saadut Ali Khan, the wise and able successor of Asuf-ood-Dowlah, in consequence

of the treaty referred to, reduced his force to 30,000 of all ranks. Our local authorities were so unwilling to order the interference of our troops until they had first satisfied themselves that the cause in which they were called on to interfere was a just one, and the interference when made often led to so much difficulty and occasioned so much jealousy, that the successors of Saadut Ali Khan, who were less careful administrators than himself, were anxious to increase their own native force, and to do away with the necessity for British intervention altogether. During the reign of Ghazee-ood-Deen Hyder, who succeeded in 1814 and died in 1827, the native army of Oudh was increased to 60,000 men. It continued to be increased, partly for the reasons above stated, and partly because the ministers who controlled its increase made a profitable speculation of the additional patronage which they thus conferred upon themselves. On the death of Nusseer-ood-Deen Hyder in 1857, the total force of the Oudh army was 67,956. Of these 20,000 were described as regulars; the remainder were even by themselves acknowledged to be a undisciplined rabble. Many of the Regiments in 1850 had received no clothing since the visit of the Marquis of Hastings upwards of 30 years previously, and the distribution of pay had been equally precarious. Even the animals destined for military purposes were starved and cheated of their dues. The Government Bullocks seldom received one-third of their rations, while the value of the whole was carefully charged for in the public accounts. The only wonder is that the military force of Oudh managed to hang together at all, so ill-regulated and ill-supplied was it in every department.

In 1834 it had been determined to depose the King of Oudh, on the ground of his having proved himself lamentably incompetent for government, and a despatch had been framed by the India Board with that view in 1834 during the Government of Lord William Bentinck, authorizing him to carry out the deposition whenever it appeared to him convenient. The despatch however was never sent, as two of the Court of Directors, Messrs. H. Ellis, and Holt Mackenzie, were violently opposed to such a measure. Advice and remonstrance were frequently employed by successive Governor-Generals, in the vain hope of influencing the sovereigns of Oudh to address themselves manfully to the remedy of the crying evils which existed in their dominions. Lord William Bentinck in January 1831, and again in August 1832, pointed out to the reigning king of the time the abuses of his authority which existed, amounting to an infraction of the treaty of 1801, and called upon him for his own sake and for the sake of his country to endeavour at all

events to commence some improvement. Finally Lord Hardinge, in October 1847, personally addressed to the king a most friendly warning, acquainting him that the reports of the anarchy which existed in his dominions were so constant and so unfavorable, that power had been vested in him by the Home Government to take the management of the affairs of Oudh into his own hands, but that he was unwilling to avail himself of that authority, without giving the king one last chance to effect those reforms himself, which, if not *bonâ fide* carried out, must eventually be undertaken by the hands of others. He concluded by warning the king, "that by wisely taking timely measures for the reformation of abuses, as one of the first acts of his reign, his Majesty would with honour to his own character, rescue his people from their present miserable condition—but if he procrastinated, he would incur the risk of forcing the British Government to interfere, by assuming the Government of Oudh; that the Governor General was not disposed to act immediately on the power vested in him by the East India Company, still less was he disposed to hold the king responsible for the misrule of his predecessors, nor did he expect that so inveterate a system of misgovernment could suddenly be eradicated; that the resolution, and the preliminary measures to effect this purpose, can and ought at once to be adopted by the king; that if His Majesty cordially enters into the plan suggested by the Governor General for the improvement of his administration, he may have the satisfaction, within the period specified of two years, of checking and eradicating the worst abuses, and at the same time of maintaining his own sovereignty and the native institutions of his kingdom unimpaired; but if he does not, it must be manifest to the whole world, that whatever may happen, the king has received a friendly and timely warning."

Notwithstanding this appeal no improvement nor attempt at improvement was made. In November 1851, Sir W. H. Sleeman, the Resident, writes from Lucknow. "Lucknow affairs are now in a state to require the assumption of the entire management of the country. All the members of the Royal family (save the king's own household) are wishing for some great measure to place them under the guarantee of the British Government. The people all now wish for it, at least all the well disposed, for there is not a man of integrity or humanity left in any office. The king's understanding has become altogether emasculated; and though he would not willingly do harm to any one, he is unable to protect any one." And again, from Lucknow under date 11th September 1854, speaking of the king;—

“ He is certainly not of sound mind, and things must ere long come to a crisis. The minister, a consummate knave, and one of the most incompetent men of business that I have ever known, has all the revenues and patronage of the country to distribute among those who have access to the king exclusively. They are poets, fiddlers, eunuchs, and profligate women—and every one of them holds, directly or indirectly, some court or other, fiscal, criminal, or civil, through which to fleece the people. Anything so detestable as the Government I have nowhere witnessed, and a man less competent to govern than the king I have never known.” After eight years instead of two had elapsed since the friendly warning above alluded to, and no attempt at improvement had yet been made, a proclamation by the Governor General in Council dated February 7, 1856, was issued at Lucknow, of which the following is the purport. The friendly intentions of the British Government have been wholly defeated by the obstinacy or incapacity or apathy of the Viziers and Kings of Oudh. The king, like most of his predecessors, takes no real share in the direction of public affairs. The powers of Government throughout his dominions are for the most part abandoned to worthless favorites, unfit for their duties and unworthy of trust. The Collectors of Revenue hold sway over their districts with uncontrolled authority, extorting the utmost payment from the people, without reference to past or to present engagements. The king’s troops, with rare exceptions undisciplined and disorganized and defrauded of their pay by those to whom it is entrusted, are permitted to plunder the villages for their own support, so that they have become a lasting scourge to the country they are employed to protect. Gangs of freebooters infest the districts; law and justice are unknown; armed violence and bloodshed are daily events; and life and property are nowhere secure for an hour. Inasmuch then as His Majesty Wajid Ali Shah has neglected to fulfil the obligations of the treaty of 1801 whereby he was bound to establish within his dominions such a system of administration as should be conducive to the prosperity and happiness of his subjects, and inasmuch as the treaty he thereby violated has been declared to be null and void, and inasmuch as His Majesty has refused to enter into other agreements which were offered to him in lieu of such treaty, and inasmuch as the terms of the treaty, if it had been still maintained, forbade the employment of British officers in Oudh, without which no efficient system of administration could be established there, it is manifest to all that the British Government had but one alternative before it. Either it must altogether desert the people of Oudh,

and deliver them up helpless to oppression and tyranny, or it must put forth its own great power on behalf of a people, for whose happiness it more than fifty years ago engaged to interpose, and must at once assume to itself the exclusive and permanent administration of the territories of Oudh. Wherefore, proclamation is hereby made, that the Government of Oudh is henceforth vested, exclusively and for ever, in the Honorable East India Company.

It had on more than one occasion been the practice of the Oudh Government to advance loans to the British, the interest of which generally at 6 per cent. was used to pay the pensions of public servants of Oudh and of members of the Oudh Royal family. These loans, extending over a period of several years, amounted in all to $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores, £3,500,000 sterling. The first loan was offered by Ghazee-ood-Deen Hyder to the Marquis of Hastings on the 15th October 1814, as a present to the Company on his accession to the Musnud of Oudh. It was declined as a gift but accepted as a subscription to the 6 per cent. Government fund. The amount received was one crore and 60 lakhs, or £1,600,000 sterling. In the subsequent year a second loan of a crore of Rupees was negotiated for the express purpose of carrying on the Nepaulese war. On the 20th June 1815, when the Marquis of Hastings, Governor General, was at Futteyghur, he received an application from Ghazee-ood-Deen Hyder, then Nawab Vizier of Oudh, that a cession should be made to Oudh of the lands of Khyreeghur and Kunchunpoor, on any terms which might be considered desirable. This grant was applied for partly for sporting purposes, and partly because the narrow strip of Khyreeghur and Kunchunpoor, which lay between the Oudh dominions on the one hand and the Nepaul territories on the other, served as a perfect nest for freebooters and desperadoes who committed robberies and murders on either side, and then escaped punishment and defied justice by flying over the British frontier. Khyreeghur and Kunchunpoor had been part of the districts assigned to us in 1801, and though the nominal rental had been 2,10,000 Rupees per annum, they had never paid to us since that date over Rs. 50,000.

Lord Hastings declined at the time according to the grant, but said that at the termination of the Ghoorka war, when an additional tract, viz., that now known as the Oudh Terai, should be placed at his disposal, this tract, together with the Khyreeghur district should be made over to Oudh, on condition of the Nawab Vizier wiping off one crore of the debt which we had incurred towards him. Accordingly on the conclusion of the Nepaulese war, by the decisive victory of Meekwanpoor gained

by the British under Ochterlony on the 27th February, 1816, it was stipulated that all the territory occupied by British troops, including the valley of the Raptee, Hurrarpoor, and some other places of note, should be ceded by the Nepaulese. A portion of this country, together with the districts of Khyreeghur and Kunchunpoor, was then made over by us to Oudh, in lieu of one crore of Rupees forming part of the sums borrowed from them as aforesaid. The treaty by which their lands were made over by us to Oudh was dated the 11th May, 1816. On the annexation of Oudh by the British Government in 1856, these lands, with the rest of the kingdom, of course fell again into our possession. And now in 1860, we purpose giving the terai portion of them back again to Nepaul, as a remuneration for services performed to our cause during the late mutiny. These services do not consist so much in the actual assistance afforded us by Nepaulese troops during the war, as that cannot be said to be of much value. Neither do they consist in the fact of the King's having marched with three Brigades this last cold season to annihilate Bennee Madhoo (whom he killed) and to snuff out the last sparks of the mutiny which were kept smouldering by a few wretched, hopeless rascals who had taken refuge within the Nepaul Frontier. This service could with ease, with equal efficiency and with greater rapidity, have been performed by any one of the many columns, either in the autumn of 1859 or the spring of the same year, who were lying dormant on the frontier. The main body of the Rebels were at no time further off than Dang Valley and that, as we well know, lies north of the Raptee, 24 miles from the debouchure of the pass of the Koronia Sota into the Sonar valley, and generally lying nearly parallel with Deocar. It could any day have been reached by a march of two days from Sidonia Ghat, or of four days from Baraitch, of three days from Seogurh, or four days from Akonnah, at all of which places we had quasi moveable columns doing little or nothing during the spring of 1859. Any two of these columns would have been sufficient to have destroyed the remains of the rebel forces quite as efficiently as could have been done by the columns of Jung Bahadoor. One of the many services which were rendered to us by Jung Bahadoor during the late disturbances, was that he placed himself in his own country prominently forward as a friend and supporter of the British. He threatened with death any who spoke of joining the rebels, and he actually punished with death some who dared to take active steps towards so uniting themselves. And all this he did at a time when the feeling of the Nepaulese was enthusiastic in favour of the rebel sepoys. Ne-

paul may be considered as the stronghold of the Hindoo religion, as there no Mahomedan conquerors have interfered to disturb their original superstitious worship. In Nepaul the Pagoda stands alone, unrivalled by the minaret of the Moslem. Here therefore, if anywhere, a war of "deen" or religious bigotry would find its enthusiastic supporters; and it is now an acknowledged fact that the bulk of the population of Nepaul were devoted to the cause of the sepoys. Some honor and reward is surely therefore due from us to the single stout heart and strong arm which prevented the great mass of 2,000,000 of disaffected neighbours from joining the side of our enemies. He also performed another friendly act towards us in keeping under surveillance the Ranee Chundah, and having her whereabouts twice daily reported to him. This lady, the mother of Dhuleep Singh and widow of the powerful Runjeet Singh, notwithstanding her profligate character, from her connection with their idolized Runjeet, (which connection was not a particularly faithful one as far as she was concerned), still retains considerable influence over the Sikhs, and more than one of them were detected corresponding with her during the mutinies.

Whatever the reason may be, it is probable that the Government have acted on better information than can be at the disposal of individuals, and had not Jung Bahadoor performed some more important services than those which are generally patent to the public, it is scarcely probable that he would have been made K. C. B., or that he would have had this fine tract of land conferred upon him in the name of two sovereigns. The use to which he intends putting his new possession when it shall have been conferred upon him, is to convert it into a run for wild Elephants, many of which are to be found in the adjoining forests. Now as the elephant is an animal who shuns the noise of mankind, who cannot abide the sound of the woodman's axe, and who flies for miles on hearing the crack of a rifle, the sportsman and the speculator in timber, (who would be a most successful speculator in these forests if he had money, liberty and energy) may fancy how much prospect they have of being permitted to follow their respective vocations within the Nepaulese limits.

The new boundary between the British territories and those of the Maharajah of Nepaul, diverges from the old one at the top of the Hill nearly opposite Balapore Tal. Before we leave this range of hills it may be as well to give a brief description of the passes through them into the fertile valleys of Nepaul. There are several passes between Sidonia Ghat and Botwall. But we shall particularize only the three

principal ones, which are the passes of the Jurwah, Budjkaye, and Koronia Sota. The Jurwah pass is situated not far from the Arrah Nuddee which is the Eastern boundary between us and Nepaul. The Jurwah pass leads between Newulgurh and Ghururbeer, and is altogether about 12 miles in length. The pass on the Oudh side is formed by the bed of a torrent which runs from the Hills into the Boodhee Raptee. The bed of the torrent is about 200 yards broad and is covered with large loose boulders of limestone rock. After advancing about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles the key of the pass is reached; this consists of two large perpendicular pillars of rock about 200 feet high each, and between them is a deep black pool of water, only fordable along a very narrow edge at the side of one of the rocks. After passing this formidable obstacle and progressing about two miles further on, the traveller comes to a thickly wooded hill which leads him to the summit of the pass, distant about six miles from its entrance on either side. Hence at an elevation of about 2,000 feet above the plateau, a magnificent view is obtained of the interior of Nepaul, comprising four distinct ranges of Hills, and embracing the fertile valleys of Sonar and Deocar watered by the winding Raptee. The Raptee appears to be about 12 miles from the top of the pass; its bed is almost choked up with sand. The Jurwah pass is entirely unavailable for military purposes on any large scale; it is quite impassable by Cavalry and Artillery under any circumstances. Small bodies of Infantry might traverse it on an emergency, but not if rapid motion was required or if at all encumbered with baggage.

Following the range of Hills about 30 miles W. N. W. from Newulgurh, we come to Musha, about five miles from which is the entrance to the pass of Budjkaye. This is a much more open pass than either of the others, and is the only one which could be passed with prudence in the face of an opposing force. There are many parts of it capable of strong defence, and a determined foe might offer serious opposition. Still the jungle on the low parts is open, and the strong positions might be outflanked and turned. The pass of Budjkaye like that of the Jurwah leads up the bed of a torrent. It leads first of all in a direction N. E., then bends off to the Northward and so reaches the summit. After reaching the summit it takes a sharp bend to the W. N. W. then turns to the N. W. again, and enters the Sonar valley in a direction nearly due North. Its extreme length is about 11 miles, and the height of the crest of the pass is about 1,000 feet above the plateau. It is mounted by a steady ascent. On com-

mencing it there are two very awkward wet nullahs to cross which would effectually stop Artillery, even supposing it possible, which it would not be, to bring them as far as these obstacles. Once over these the ground mounts by an easy ascent to the summit. The Hills on either side of the pass might be crowned without difficulty; the slopes fall gradually towards the pass and the Hill sides are only thinly covered with jungle. In short it is a good open pass. The first Sikh Infantry went to the top of it, on the 23rd May 1859, the officers riding or walking at pleasure, and the whole of the ammunition of the Regiment accompanying carried on mules. A party of Hodson's Horse advanced nearly to the top of the pass, and were stopped merely to spare the horses from fatigue, and not because there would have been any difficulty in their proceeding. The crest is composed of rounded limestone hills covered with thick grass. There is no water to be found in this pass during summer after crossing the nullahs aforesaid, which are within one-half and two miles respectively of the entrance of the pass, and the water in these nullahs during the month of May is stagnant and undrinkable. The Budjkaye pass is decidedly practicable for Cavalry and for Infantry, and although it would be a fatiguing march there is no reason why the baggage on mules, camels or elephants should not accompany.

Ten miles W. N. W. from Budjkaye, at the back of the small village of Gigelee, and about four miles north of Bala-poor Tal, is the entrance to the pass of Koronia Sota. The extreme length of this pass is about 13 miles, it is very winding, and in many places the path is very broken and rocky. In no place except on the lower part of the Nepaul side where it leads down the sandy bed of a dry rivulet, is it passable for man or beast unless in single file, and even then he must be careful of his manner of going. The direction of the pass is first of all to the N. E. then bending slightly to the westward, then N. W. crossing the ridge in a direction due north, then bending to the N. E., and afterwards round by a gentle curve in a direction N. N. W. There are three very abrupt ascents and descents, and numerous lesser ones. Shortly after passing the summit which may be about 1,500 feet high the path leads for several hundred yards along the stony bed of a torrent only a few feet broad, and hemmed in on each side by walls of dark coloured limestone rock. This would be a very dangerous part to pass in front of an enemy; indeed the whole pass is decidedly a dangerous one and should only be attempted on emergency. The direction is winding, the ascents

and descents are numerous, the jungle where there is any is thick, the path is narrow and rugged, and there is no place where a view can be had at one time of more than half a mile of the direction of the track. Gordon's Sikhs, accompanied by a Wing of the 53rd Regiment on Elephants, traversed this pass during the heat of the day on the 4th May, 1859, in pursuit of Dabee Deen, with a force of 2,000 men. About 50 of the rebels were slain in the pass, but the alarm having been given the remainder saved themselves by a precipitate flight and escaped that night to Dang. The small British force penetrated into the Sonar valley, where they camped for the night, and returned next morning. Several ponies accompanied the force, as did also a Shuter Sowar and an orderly of Hodson's Horse on horseback. Water quite good enough to drink is found at three spots in the pass. The pass of Koronia Sota is practicable for Infantry with their baggage, though with some difficulty and with the chance of delay. It cannot be said under any circumstances to be passable for Cavalry, although on emergency mounted orderlies might be sent that way without fear of their not being able to get through. It is conveniently situated as it leads into the Sonar valley nearly opposite Sitka Ghat. A small cattle village (Gowrie) is on the opposite side close to the debouchure of the pass. The valley of Sonar at the spot is about 20 miles broad, and the Raptee is a clear broad stream. The ground seems a rich stiff clay, and the stubble from the barley crop which was on the ground in the summer of 1859 would have done credit to a farm in the Lothians of Scotland. The Sonar valley seems sparsely inhabited, but well cultivated.

The boundary line leaves the crest of the Nepaul range near the Koronia Sota pass, and passing through the belt of jungle which is here only about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles thick at the foot of the Hills, runs across the fine open plateau of the Terai in a N. W. direction, and after traversing another belt of forest about three miles thick which fringes the Raptee, crosses the river near Sidonia Ghat. We may here mention that the pass through the Hills into the Sonar valley of Nepaul at the back of Sidonia Ghat, and along the course of the Raptee, is a broad open road practicable for forces of all arms. As a general rule in moving Artillery through the Oudh side of the Terai, the guns should be kept on the Southern and Western bank of the Raptee, that is on the side farthest from the Hills, as here the ground is scarcely at all intersected by nullahs, whereas on the side nearest the hills they are frequent. Artillery may be brought from Lucknow to Baraitch, from Baraitch to Seogurh or to Nauparah, and from either of these places to Sidonia Ghat, and so along

either bank of the Raptée into the 'Sonar valley of Nepaul, without any difficulty. Artillery also have been brought from Toolseepoor to Bhinga, but with considerable delay in each day's march from having to cross the nullahs aforesaid. The bottom of the river Raptée has been reported to be unsound, but that is a mistake. It is fordable with ease and with safety, at intervals of not more than four miles, anywhere between Bhinga and Sidonia Ghat, and where water flows the bottom is sound. In some places by the side of the water there are shaking sands, but these are easily seen and avoided. On the south of the Raptée the ground is open and cultivated for some distance. Over this the boundary line passes for about four miles, and then entering the jungle passes to the North of Bankie, and continues still through jungle in a N. N. W. direction till it gets near Pudnaha, then turns off more westerly and passing to the south of Pudnaha surrenders that village to the barbarian. From Pudnaha to the Girwah River the country is open. The soil is a rich muttear or dark argillaceous mould, and is capable of growing crops of any description. The Girwah is crossed about eight miles south of Murela where it is a fine broad stream some 300 yards broad, and at the deepest part of the ford about three feet deep. Once across the Girwah the line first passes through what may really be called forest, in contradistinction to the jungle which has hitherto covered the face of the country. The lordly saul towers to a height of upwards of 100 feet, and is in appearance something like the English elm. The sissoo is not quite so high and is in appearance more like the Birch; the peculiarity of a sissoo forest is that it is always an open forest without underwood, and the trees from 20 to 30 yards apart. There are seldom many other trees mixed with it. The saul on the contrary is a gregarious tree and rears its height among smaller neighbours; some of these smaller neighbours are also very valuable, and amongst these one not the least so, is the ebony tree. From the Girwah to the next considerable stream which is crossed the forest is general, but on approaching the Kuriallee, the line runs along on open prairie some six miles broad by 20 long, fringed with sissoo forests on either side. Both the sissoo and the saul are very heavy kinds of timber, and when conveyed down a river it requires the buoyancy of three canoes to float two logs. They are both extensively used in building gun carriages in India. The Kuriallee is crossed at Gholee Ghat, where it is a quarter of a mile broad. It is only passable by troops or passengers in boats. There is however a ford a little below the forks of the Kuriallee and Mahona where elephants

can with some difficulty wade across. The boundary line runs along the Mahona river as far as Gowarrec Ghat. For about eight miles after passing the Kuriallee, the country is a dense forest, and includes a small glade called Sonapata, which is one of the most favorable places for tiger shooting in India. The forest then turns off to the northward, and runs along the lower slopes of the hills with a general breadth of about eight miles; this breadth is however by no means continuous, and often includes large open prairies of many square miles in extent. The climate throughout this district is unfavorable to the health of Europeans, or indeed to that of any upright walking bipeds except the Taroos or aboriginal natives of the locality. The Terai in all may be stated to be 5,000 square miles in extent, of which two-thirds are forest and the remainder arable open land. There are two unhealthy seasons, one at the latter end of August, September, and October, when the diseases are supposed to arise from bad air; the other unhealthy season is said to be from bad water, and to prevail during the months of May and June. We believe however that both the duration and the virulence of this unhealthy season are much exaggerated, and have certainly seen native troops, and Europeans also, exposed to the climate in the centre of the Terai during the whole of the month of May without suffering from it in the slightest. There is however in some wells at this season, according to Sir R. Sleeman, a thin bituminous scum often found over the water; this he thinks arises from the coal measures which lie below. After the rains the unhealthiness is as easily accounted for as it is undoubted. The water stagnates on a cold, retentive, clayey soil; the vegetable matter with which the surface is thickly over-spread decays and becomes putrid. The water thus in itself becomes tainted, and as it filters through the soil taints in its turn the various wells; and the exhalations arising from the surface are also deleterious and produce disease. One simple remedy would obviate all this, and that would be a good system of drainage. The malaria in the Terai is supposed to rise to a height of 12 feet from the surface of the soil. In this the popular belief is probably not far from correct, although an eloquent medical writer has lately endeavoured to demonstrate that malaria never rises over three and a half feet. The boundary line after leaving the Mahona takes a bend to the southward through an open country, bounded on the south by the fine forests of Khyreeghur which still remain entirely in our possession. It then takes a circuitous course following the nearly dry bed of an old stream. Here it passes through a rich forest which is equally dense on both sides of the boundary. A bend of about

ten miles in a direction North East and by North then brings us to the Sarda River at Bela Ghat, which is here a fine stream 900 yards broad with clear rapid flowing water, and a depth of from 10 to 25 feet. From Bela Ghat which is near the confluence of the river Mohan, the line runs along the River Sarda to Gossee Ghat, and from thence until it meets the Hills about 25 miles N. E. from Philibheet.

The tract of land thus made over to the Nepaulese comprises a district about 125 miles long, with a breadth varying from 10 to 20 miles. Not above one-tenth of it is cultivated, though probably nearly one-third might be brought under cultivation with proper management. The actual revenue raised from arable land is at present only 60,000 Rupees per annum. From the forests the yield is precarious; any man who chooses may at present cut timber in them, merely paying four Rupees for each log when he brings it to the ghats for export. From this source about 1,50,000 Rupees are at present received by Government, but with proper management the forests no doubt might be made to produce three lakhs of Rupees per annum. The principal use to which the land is at present devoted is to the pasturage of large herds of cattle sent from the neighbouring districts of Oudh. The pasture is rich and thick, and far superior to any which is met with in any part of the districts surrounding European stations. This pasture is paid for at the rate of four annas per month per animal, and the dues are levied by the Government Collector. It can scarcely be supposed than one-fifteenth of the pasture so consumed is actually paid for, as there do not seem to be nearly sufficient superintendents to take proper account of the numbers. Irregularly however as this source of revenue is collected, it yields about a lakh of Rupees per annum. The actual annual value therefore of the whole district now made over to Jung Bahadoor is 3,10,000 Rupees. If it is not turned into a preserve for elephants as proposed, it is probable the value may be much increased, as the Nepaulese employés exercise a more vigilant superintendence over their lands and revenues, than can be said to be exercised by any of our native rajahs, and the Nepaulese estates in the neighbourhood of Toolseepoor are excessively well managed. In raising our revenue from land we seem to have frequently copied the native system, instead of introducing any system of our own. It is scarcely therefore surprising that the natives should be better able to carry out their own system, than are we—their foreign imitators. As to the poor ryots, or actual cultivators, the change to them must be a matter of great indifference. Whether the Lord of the soil have sworn fealty to British or to Nepaulese laws

he will be equally sure to screw as much as possible out of the unfortunate ryot, and happy he who shall be able to pay what is demanded of him, and yet have sufficient left for the bare subsistence of his family.

A most promising sanitarium for the troops in Oudh, if a right to it for that purpose could be procured, is to be met with in the second range of Hills, at the source of the Mohan river, at about 65 miles distance in a direction N. N. W. from the station of Luckeempoor.

This station falls within the Nepaul boundary, but so slightly that it is probable had a timely effort been made, a cession of it, might have been secured. The name of the place is Musseah, its elevation is roughly computed at 7,000 feet, there are upwards of two miles extent of nearly level table land, the sides of the Hills are covered with Rhododendrons, and the surface of the top is one continued carpet of violets. The present approach to it is up the dry bed of the Mohan river, and the country is much infested by tigers. It must be confessed that we know excessively little of the country which bounds our Northern Frontier; *from Nynce Tal to Darjeeling is almost a terra incognita*. Our surveyors took little pains to ascertain either the configuration or the nature of the country, while it was yet ours, and now that much of this extent has fallen under the Nepaulese rule, our natural mountain frontier has become a sealed book equally to the surveyor, the naturalist, the geologist, or the sportsman. The boundary has now been distinctly marked by small stone pillars about a foot high placed at intervals along the line. It has been an express condition of Lord Canning that the ancient Nepaulese boundary should be restored precisely as it existed previous to the war of 1816.

In the olden times to which we have referred, the boundary question between Oudh and Nepaul, led to frequent bickerings and quarrels. The forests of Khyreeghur and the banks of the Kuriallee and the Sarda, were infested by bands of Moustroopers, as troublesome, if not so daring or so hardy, as those which were wont to rove from Tweed to Solway. Let us hope that those disagreeable episodes in the annals of the past may not be revived in the history of the future, and that the Governments of Great Britain and of Nepaul, as well as the subjects of both countries, remembering that this debateable land has been bestowed as a guerdon for extinguishing the last sparks of an old quarrel, may so conduct themselves as to avoid gathering from it fresh fuel for a new one.

ART. IV.—*Rural Life in Bengal, illustrative of Anglo-Indian Suburban Life, more particularly in connection with the Planter and Peasantry, the varied produce of the Soil and Seasons, with copious details of the Culture and Manufacture of Indigo. Letters from an Artist in India to his Sisters in England.* By the Author of "*Anglo-Indian Domestic Life*," "*Rough Notes of a Rough Trip to Rangoon*," etc. London: W. Thacker & Co., 87, Newgate Street. 1860.

THE Sepoy Rebellion in the North has been followed by a ryot mutiny in Lower Bengal. To what a train of thoughts does this give rise! The sepoy rebelled because he was too well fed, too well paid, too much humoured, too much pampered. The sepoy rebelled because rebellion came natural to him. His whole career had been a series of petty rebellions. The ryot breaks out into open rebellion against his master, as if under the influence of some sudden inspiration. To all True Blues of the Meergunj School, these facts may serve as a further illustration of the unfathomable treachery and base ingratitude of native character. To them these facts will afford a convincing proof that, do what we can, it is simply impossible to enlist on our side the sympathies of those over whom we rule; that kindness or severity is attended with the same sad consequences; that the natives of India may fear, but that they never will love their European Rulers.

Like all hasty generalizations, there is in such reasoning as this some little portion of truth. At the present moment, while the Indigo Commission is sitting, we shall not undertake to describe in detail the life of a ryot in an Indigo district, or to point out what may be the causes of the unwillingness on the part of the ryots to cultivate Indigo. But we shall look at the Bengal Ryot generally, and expose in passing some of the many inaccuracies with which a book, otherwise full of really useful information, we mean "*Rural Life in Bengal*," is crowded. We shall describe ryot life in the Rice districts of Bengal. We shall point out the advantages held out to the ryots in the rice districts—advantages which have brought about quite a revolution in the life and habits of the ryots in general.

The cultivation of Indigo is almost entirely in the hands of European Planters, who stand between the zemindars and the ryots, holding their lands generally of the zemindars. The cultivation of Indigo is anything but popular with the natives. Why it should be so, we do not feel ourselves to be in

a position to dogmatize. • In some districts, Europeans are forbidden by the terms of their engagement to grow Indigo on their estates. We have known cases in which those ryots who have been most unmanageable so long as they were obliged to sow Indigo have given no trouble whatever as soon as they had carried their point, and had been allowed to grow what they believed to be more profitable to themselves. We know of a case where the ryots paid up all demands against them, without questioning their accuracy, because they had been told that they would not be required to sow Indigo in future. There can be no doubt that the cultivation of Indigo goes against the grain with a ryot. He does not like it. He does not wish to engage in it. This unwillingness arises from several causes. In the first place, and we think this in itself a sufficient reason, the ryot finds it more profitable to sow his paddy. Facts are stubborn things. Rice is more profitable than Indigo. Now we should like much to know where the Author of "Rural Life in Bengal," ever succeeded in buying the commonest and coarsest rice at 14 annas a maund, (p. 68.) Rice might have been selling at that rate some 10 years ago, but the Author must have known, or ought to have known, that the price of rice has risen immensely within the last four or five years. We know of a gentleman who makes very large shipments of rice to Calcutta for export, and who has to pay a very considerably higher price for it. The Author of "Rural Life in Bengal" must have known that rice is selling at a higher price, and he ought to have made a correction on that score as he has done in so many other places in his book. As the passage now stands it is likely to mislead those who do not know better.

But besides this circumstance, that the ryot finds Indigo less profitable than Rice, (and this might not have been the case, if the Planter keeping up with the times, had offered better terms to the ryot,) his accounts instead of being made up every year, go on for years and years without being adjusted. The ryot never knows how he stands with his Planter. He is continually taking fresh advances, and he never knows how much of his debt has been paid off by the labour of the past year. In this state of uncertainty he works on, but never finds himself better off than he was when he first began. Like Sisyphus he succeeds in rolling the stone up the hill, only to see it roll down again. Like Ixion he is chained to a wheel which rolls and rolls and never drops. Like Tantalus he always seems to be within reach of his object and yet never secures it. Here too we must point out an inaccuracy of the Author of "Rural Life in Bengal." He tells us, at page 90, that the Planter unlike the

Mahajuns—the Shylocks of India—*take no interest whatever of course* for money advanced. *Credat Judaeus*. Why, the very cause of all the misery and ruin which eventually overtake the ryot, arises from the high rate of interest at which money is advanced to the ryot by the Planter. This fact has been repeatedly noticed in the recent disturbances, but has never been contradicted. Here lies the origin of the ryot's difficulties. He embarks on his Indigo speculation with what is to him a heavy debt, rendered still heavier in consequence of the interest that he will have to pay. At the best it is a most precarious speculation. The ryot must trust to, though he can never reckon upon, genial showers and favorable weather. A shower of rain too soon or too late will ruin his prospects for the year. His crops fail. His debts remain unpaid. His only chance of tiding over the difficulty is by receiving fresh advances from the Planter. It might be asked why need the ryot take fresh advances from the Planter under such circumstances? Simply because he can't help himself. "Pay me that thou owest," says the Planter to him, or else take the consequences, and the ryot knows well what that means. "Pay me that thou owest," or take a fresh advance for the next year which may be more favorable.

Unlike his more fortunate master, the ryot has no Insolvency Court open to afford him relief; he has no chance given him of wiping out his past debts and of starting afresh. Is it then any cause for wonder that the ryot simply yields to necessity? A well known writer in a recent number of "Fraser" has shown us how difficult it is for men with all the superior advantages which we enjoy, to keep ourselves from *giving up* when we ought rather to think of *coming down*. How different is the poor ryot's case. He has not even a chance given him of *coming down*. He has no other course open to him than to *give up*.

We should be exceeding our limits if we were to follow the Author of "Rural Life in Bengal" through all his inaccuracies. We regret that a book which is otherwise so full of really useful information, should be so sadly disfigured with uncalled for misrepresentations and rash assertion. We wish that the Author had known a little more of the officials in the Mofussil than a couple of days spent with the Assistant Magistrate of Kishnaghur could have enabled him to do, before he made such wild statements about civilians in general. We should have wished him to see a little more of Indigo planting than he was able to see at Mulpath House. We should like him to have seen for himself more than he appears to have done, to have been less frequently ac-

accompanied with "the rattle of his friend's stirrup as he rode across the ryot's khets." We should have wished our Author to know a little more of our much-abused Regulations before he ventured to state so dogmatically that Mahommedan Law was administered in all cases in our Courts, that the Law officer's Futwa was taken in all cases before the Judges of our Mofussil Courts. We should have been glad to find that our Author was at least aware of the existence of Act XI. 1859, when he was descanting so grandiloquently on all the vexatious annoyances incident to holding landed property in India. He knows perfectly well that such a statement would tell in England;* and he must have known equally well that Act XI. was going through its different stages before his work was in the press, or at least before the last proof sheet left his hands. We are sorry that our Author was not a little more careful in the choice of his authorities, before he quoted from the geographical report of Major Ralph Smyth on the condition of the ryots in the 24-Pergunnahs.

As the book now stands, it is very far from being a correct representation of "Rural Life in Bengal." It is full of mistakes, full of one-sided views, full of misrepresentations, and we do hope that abler hands than ours will undertake the task of answering it more completely and more satisfactorily than we have attempted to do. We cannot leave this part of our subject without expressing our deep regret at the attitude assumed by some of the Missionaries in Kishnaghur. We are sorry for this, as well for the sake of the ryots, as on account of the Holy Work in which the Missionaries are engaged, and for which we feel the deepest sympathy. The thought forces itself into our mind, that a Missionary to write long letters to the *Indian Field*, must have more time at his disposal than he ought to have. We cannot help thinking that a Missionary's life and work do not lie amid the fierce storm of political agitation. Our mind recurs to a passage in that Book which we but believe, and which they preach—"in quiet and in confidence shall be your strength." We believe that if a man sets his mind to do what he believes to be his duty, and does it quietly and earnestly he must succeed in the long run. We should be indeed glad to see the Missionaries influenced by some such principle, to see them keep to their own immediate duties, to see them realize in their life and conduct, the truth they preach that their "kingdom is not of this world."

We have thus far described a ryot's life and prospects in an

* See the *Athenæum* for February 18
JUNE, 1860.

Indigo district. We have seen the dark side of the picture. Let us now turn to the sunny side.

How different is the ryot's lot in the rice districts of Bengal. He gets a bit of land commensurate with his means. True it is he pays a high rent for it. He pays a *Nuzur*, he pays *Salami*; he pays *Hani* and *Thori*; he pays half a bundle with extortions; despite all this, (and we are very far from saying that a ryot's life, even in a rice district, is one of unmingled happiness), he ekes out his living small though it be, without putting himself to much trouble, or without running any risks from bad weather, as his brother ryot in the Indigo districts always does. Idle by nature, the ryot takes kindly to husbandry. He works but little, and leaves nature to do the rest. It might be said almost literally of a ryot in a rice district, that he has but to "cast his corn upon the waters and he finds it after many days." His crops once sown, he has nothing more to do, nothing more to fear. In due course of time his crops appear. Soon after they are reaped and stored. He finds a ready market for his rice, and gets a more than reasonable return for his outlay of capital. Now all this is no fancy sketch. It is true to the life; ask any body who knows any thing at all of a rice district in Bengal, and he will confirm all we have said.

To give an illustration of what we have said. Our night punkah bearers to whom we pay four Rs. each per mensem, hold 2 drons of land for which they pay 64 Rs. yearly to their Zemindar. A couple of drons of land would, in the part of the country of which we are speaking, be equal to about 16 acres. On this bit of land they clear as they tell 100 Rs. every year after paying every thing, but we should say that 120 Rs. would not be above the mark. Besides pulling our punkah at night they with two other brothers take the *Alte Sahib* to his Court and get 3 Rs. a month each, all the year round. Their yearly income then stands thus, 120 Rs. profit on their land, 48 Rs. from us for pulling our punkah for 6 months, and 144 Rs. a year from the Principal Sudder Ameen, making in all over 300 Rs. a year to be divided amongst 5 brothers. Now can any thing like this be found in an Indigo district? And this, be it observed, is not an exceptional case that we have singled out. *Ex uno disce omnes.** In a rice district a ryot knows what it is to be comfortable, what it is to be above want, what it is to be independent. He will not go abroad to seek for work unless he can make his own terms. In some districts in Eastern Bengal a palki

* "The case we have given is taken from the least profitable part of the district of which we are writing."

dāk is laid with the greatest difficulty. In one district punkah bearers are asking 5 Rs. a month, where they only got 2½ Rs. 10 or 12 years ago. To those who do not look below the surface of things, who take what Carlyle calls a skin-deep view of things, this independence on the part of the ryot is very provoking. The high spirited Anglo-Saxon adventurer cannot stand such impertinence. He has no notion of a native making his own terms, demanding his own price.

There are others again who take an enlarged view of things, who look upon the fact to which we have alluded as a social phenomenon, as a fact in social science. The history of every nation has taught them, that one sure sign of national prosperity is to be found in the condition of the laboring classes, and that such condition is healthy and hopeful when the laboring classes begin to feel what it is to be independent, when they know what it is to be above want. For ourselves we welcome this stage of progress in a ryot's life, we feel sure that one element at least, of social progress is at work. The ryot is above want. He is learning to contrast habits of industry and self-dependence. He is beginning to regulate his expenditure by his income. And who that knows the almost in-born improvidence of the natives of this country, will not gladly accept this fact as one step in the right direction, as one stage gained on the road to social progress?

Nor is this all. With the acquisition of a little land which secures to the ryot his competency, comes his unwillingness to leave his country or rather the district in which he was born and where he has his family. When a ryot finds that he can always command a ready sale for his crops, that he can always get enough from his land to enable him to live with his family, you may depend upon it he will not go abroad to seek out work, unless it be rendered attractive with the prospect of high wages. A servant who will serve you for four Rupees a month in his own district will not follow you to another for double that sum. You may perhaps ask, why? The answer is very obvious. The man has some land, no matter how little. He has his yoke or two of oxen or even more, according to his circumstances. He has his cows, &c. He has his wife and family, and whilst he is serving you at your home, his children are away at work in the fields, ploughing, sowing, reaping. He goes home to his family every day. He has always something to ask, something to talk about. He has just come across Pir Ban's Khets, and has seen the "Sarsu" thrive better than on his own lands; or he does not think Chand Gazi's bullocks so good as Mahmed Ali's; or if it be the season for the *Aus Dhán* or the *Boro Dhán*, he

speculates on the probable out-turn. If a Mussulman, he enquires after the eggs that are to go to the next day's hât. If a Hindoo, his son tells how the calf drank up all the milk, and so none has been sold. In short we think it a great mistake that some people make, when they say that a ryot talks of nothing but of pice and his "*Mokaddams*." He does talk of these things, and pray who does not, especially of the last, when it is his misfortune to fall into a lawyer's hands? All we maintain is, that the ryot has other topics of conversation. His very occupations find them for him. He has in short enough to make his house a *home*.

We have already pointed out one most hopeful sign of progress in the ryot, and we wish to return to it, as it is one of the highest importance, one which cannot be too often noticed. We have spoken of the growing *self-dependence* of the ryot. This marks an epoch in the history of civilization in India. It shows that the ryot is beginning to emancipate himself from a most oppressive tyranny, the tyranny of protection, that he now looks to his own labors, his own industry, that he has his own lands, and that this is all he wants, and being all he wants he makes every sacrifice to get it.

Any one who is at all acquainted with Mofussil life must be aware of the daily growing importance that is attached to the possession of land, among all classes of natives. Domestic servants, court peons, chaprasis,* all hold, or do their best to get a little land. If you happen to be a "*hakim*" and take your chaprasi when you go out after snipe, he will be sure to take you over his khets first, and if in a moment of enthusiasm, after bringing down your first couple, you put a question or two to your cicerone about the crops &c., he will be sure to drop in the fact, that "*banda's*" khets will yield a good crop, because "*Hazur's Tarhrif*" has brought him there. Perhaps in his own mind "*banda*" may be swearing at Hazur for treading upon his young crops.

We cannot here resist the temptation of quoting "a rather long passage from the writings of one of the most profound thinkers of the day on social questions.† Nothing that we could say, could put the fact we have been noticing, viz., the self-dependence of the ryot, in a stronger light. "The poor have come out of leading strings, and cannot any longer be governed or treated little children. To their own qualities must now be commended the care of their destiny. Modern

* This we hope will explain the charge brought by some against Government of under-paying the peons attached to the Courts. The fact really is, that a chaprasi for the work he does, is better off than any other native of his class.

† John Stuart Mill. Political Economy, Vol. ii. p. 328.

'nations will have to learn the lesson that the well-being of a people must exist by means of the justice and self-government, the dikaiosyne and sophrosyne of the individual citizen. The theory of dependence attempts to dispense with the necessity of these qualities in the dependent classes. But now, when even in position they are becoming less and less dependent, and their minds less and less acquiescent in the degree of dependence which remains, the virtues of independence are those which they stand in need of. Whatever advice or exhortation or guidance is held out to the laboring classes, must henceforth be tendered to them as equals and accepted with their eyes open. The prospect of the future, depends on the degree in which they can be made rational beings."

No description of ryot life would be complete without some notice of the new Rent Bill which was passed by the Legislature last year. A writer in the *Hindu Patriot* has called it the ryot's Magna Charta. Henceforth a ryot is no more his Zemindar's bondsman. His personal freedom is now secured to him, for his Zemindar can no longer force him to come to his Kutcherry, to beat him, keep him in duress, and afterwards release him on the payment of a *Mathat*. His rent can only be enhanced, and he can himself be only ejected, subject to certain conditions. If his crops are distrained and sold he has only himself to blame. Personal freedom, certainty of tenure, and security from distraint, these three grand provisions of the Bill, form an epoch in the constitutional History of India. The historical position of so bold a measure has not we think been sufficiently and prominently noticed. India has now entered upon a new phase of her career. She has emerged from the dark depths of feudalism into the bright sunlight of constitutional freedom.

We do not hold at all with those who are inclined to look upon Act X. of 1859 as premature. We have no sympathy with those who would keep the ryot in leading strings for ever. The ryot has now outgrown his baby clothes. He must in other words have all to which he is entitled as a full grown freeman. We have here several objections urged against the practicability of this Bill. Was there ever any reform initiated against which the whole force of class interests and rent-born prejudices was not brought to bear? The Zemindar has every assistance afforded him by the law to realize his rents from his ryots, only he must treat the ryot as a freeman, and not as his slave; only he must not drag the poor unfortunate ryot to his Guhrm Kutcherry. And who that knows aught of the atrocities committed in such places would dare to restore to the Zemindar a privilege he so grossly abused?

But much as we might wish, we must not stay much longer on Act X. It requires a separate notice. However, it is no use struggling against the change that has been introduced. Nay rather we should do our best to encourage it, and if we have read the lessons of history aright, we shall not fail to do so. This reform, if wisely directed, must be attended with great national results. We may depend upon it that national prosperity can only co-exist with the well being and social advancement of the working classes; we may gather together mighty armies, and build large fleets; we may gratify our national vanity with the mighty achievements of our military prowess; we may pride ourselves in an antediluvian aristocracy; but what will all this avail us so long as one million of working classes are oppressed, neglected, debased? Wherein did all this avail Russia in her late struggle with the Western Powers? Wherein does it avail her now amid her difficulties with the serf? Wherein did all this avail the Great Napoleon whilst his conscription carried off villagers from their homes—left their fields neglected—their homesteads desolate? Look at all the countries in Europe, and see if it is not the fact that wheresoever there has been, and still is, a marked progress social and moral in the condition of the labouring classes, there is to be found national prosperity?

We have said that the great change in the condition of the ryots will if wisely directed be fraught with inestimable results to the country at large. We think that every unprejudiced mind must give Government credit for having done all it could well do. Look for instance at the mighty impulse that has been given to education all through the country. Now we have nothing to do with Government schools, we cannot be charged with, "nothing like leather." Still we do take some interest in the cause of native education, and moreover we think that it is the duty of every body whose lot has been cast in this country to do so. It is a duty we owe them. It is a trust committed to us, and we may be sure of this, that we shall be more than repaid for the proper discharge of this our duty in the general prosperity and well-being of the country.

"Aristotle's criterion," says Sir William Hamilton,† "of an

* Plato in the 4th Book of his Republic p. 420, urges this duty of looking to the general well-being of the country, in very beautiful language.

† Discussion on Philosophy, &c. p. 598 2nd Edition. Readers of Aristotle's Ethics and Politics, need scarcely be referred to the last Chapter of the former treatise and the 7th Book of the latter for Aristotle's view on education. It is some time since we have looked at Aristotle, but we think Sir W. Hamilton must have referred to a passage in the 4th Book of the Politics, where Aristotle is discussing the best possible form of Government.

'*honest and intelligent* Government holds unusually true." "A Government," says the philosopher, "ruling for the benefit of all, is of its very nature anxious for the education of all, not only because intelligence is in itself a good, and the condition of good, but even in order that its subjects may be able to appreciate the benefits of which it is itself the source. Whereas a Government ruling for the profit of its administrators, is naturally willing to debase the mind and the character of the governed, to the end that they may be disqualified to understand, to care for, and to assert their rights."

We do not think the Government system a decided success—what human scheme or system ever was? We are far from thinking it so successful as our Mission Schools, scattered about, not near enough though, all through the country. But this is a totally different question, to which we may return on some future occasion. We have now to do with the results of Government education. All we contend for is, that if a measure is to be judged by its results, the Government system has been, and is successful. This we may reasonably infer from the almost universal desire that prevails amongst the natives now-a-days to come to the Government schools or to send their sons there.

It is no use going against facts, go to any Government school in the Mofussil and you will see it thronged with pupils. Look up the school records and you will see that every year, nay every month, the school is increasing its numbers. In some schools, the head master will tell you that numbers are refused admission, as the classes are already too large. And where do all these lads come from? Not from the homes of wealthy Zemindars and influential Talookdars. No—but you will see there the sons of peasant proprietors and rising Shahirs, the sons in short of the poorer men of the middle classes. And yet in the face of all this, we have it constantly dinned into our ears that Government schools are a failure!

But education by itself will not be enough. We must find some scope for the energies, some outlet for the ambition of those youths who leave our Government schools and Mission schools. This we have every reason to hope will not be wanting. European energy is every day developing some hitherto unknown resources of the country. All over the country, we find European agency at work, exploring mines, growing tea, cultivating hemp, and flax, and silk, and we must add indigo, constructing railroads, building steam boats, clearing waste lands for future cultivation. Who that has seen the immense start that has been given to European colonization, since the year of the

mutiny, can even in imagination picture to himself the India that is to be?

For ourselves, we have no sympathy with those who join in the outcry against the advent of European settlers. We think on the contrary, that we can never have enough—we can never have too much of European agency and European energy in India. But, we must have it of the right sort. We must have men who come out duly impressed with a sense of the high responsibilities with which every European in India is charged. We must have men of a far different stamp from those who first left the shores of England to colonize Australia. The work is different, the agency employed must be different likewise. We cannot—we dare not if we would, blot out from the map of history, nations that have exercised so vast an influence upon the civilization of the past. Ours is the work of restoration, of regeneration, not of extermination.

Yes, we look forward to a glorious future for India. We may not live to see our anticipations realized. Our lot may perchance be cast in still more troublous times than those the memory of which is still fresh upon most minds. The political complications in Europe may hinder for a while the great work in which we are engaged, yet, if we have read God's lessons aright, if the teaching of history be no dream nor illusion, India will outlive the fury of that storm, if it should ever burst over our heads. India in the undisturbed possession of that national liberty which we enjoy, in the full enjoyment of that religion which has made us what we are, will one day sit as a "Queen among the nations, if she will not still be the brightest gem in England's Crown."

"Le mouvement progressif de la société, échappera donc facilement à l'appréciation des hommes, surtout aux époques de crise où le sort des générations présentes semble sacrifié à l'avenir. Cependant ceux qui, d'un point de vue supérieur aux émotions du moment, savent apercevoir le développement du genre humain et comparer son état à plusieurs degrés de distance, voient clairement se manifester le progrès et la tendance au perfectionnement."*

* *Manual de Politique*—par V Gurchard, p 19. We would take this opportunity of recommending this book to those of our readers who do not happen to be acquainted with it. It needs no recommendation at our hands when we say, that it is published in the same series with, and is intended to be a sort of companion book to, Renouvier's *Histoire de la Philosophie Ancienne et Moderne*.

ART. V.—*Narrative of the Embassy of RUY GONZALES DE CLAVIJO to the Court of TIMUR at Samarcand, A. D. 1403-6. Translated for the first time, with Notes, &c., by CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, F. R. G. S.* London: printed for the Hakluyt Society. 1859.

THE journal of the grave and stately Castilian Knight, Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, has an interest to the men of our day, akin to that with which we read of the newly disinterred city at Wroxeter, or Roman life at Pompeii, with the fragile rolls which may contain the lost books of Livy and Tacitus, or the tomb paintings of Egypt, or the sculptures and engraved cylinders, which may yet tell us the thoughts and inner life, as well as the conquests and names, of the great men of Babylon and Nineveh. It was written less than 460 years ago; but represents a state of society and a balance of power, which, with our present experience and habits of thinking, it is difficult to realize,—difficult even to credit, or deem possible. Russia was a Tartar Satrapy. Prussia was governed, or trodden down, by the Teutonic Knights; France and Germany overrun by foreign invaders, and torn asunder by intestine strife. There was not a Protestant State, there was not a printed book in Europe. America, Australia and the Cape were not yet even thought of. Continental Europe was one vast field of unceasing fighting—battles, skirmishes, robberies, murders, misery and crime. If one can but pause to think, Froissart's delightful pages are terrible reading. God forbid we should ever see the like again. The crusades had killed faith. There was no law but that of the strong hand. Men respected that; and besides—nothing. But this intolerable misery struck out the coming light. It gave despotism to France: it gave freedom to England. The Jacquerie paved the way for Louis XI.; Wat Tyler taught the people their power, and was the prelude to our first revolution, when Richard of Bordeaux was deposed, and Henry of Lancaster raised to the throne by the Commons of England—a revolution as bloodless and as complete as that of the 3rd William;—and, in Europe's darkest day, England had her Wickliffe—the true father and founder (more than Luther himself) of Europe's greatness, and Europe's civilization and freedom. He was dead; but, when Clavijo writes, his disciples Huss and Jerome of Prague had taken the torch from his hand, and held it aloft in the darkness. Light was sorely needed. The Lithuanians were still Pagans, and the Saxons and Prussians, compelled at last after a fierce struggle of 700 years, had been beaten by the iron mace of Char-

lemagne and the Teutonic Knights into something which was misnamed Christianity.

The Catholic world was divided between two rival Popes. The conduct of the eldest son of the Church, in this thorny conjuncture, may afford an edifying lesson to the remarkable man who now fills his place. Charles of France, not yet utterly deranged, took counsel with the Emperor of Germany, and, to restore unity to the Church, determined to end the scandal by compelling both the Popes to resign. He made known his will to Benedict (the French Pope) through a special ambassador, the Bishop of Cambray. Benedict in great wrath replied, "Since I am Pope, I will continue so as long as I live, and will not, though it cost me my life, renounce it. You will tell our son of France, that hitherto we have considered him as a good Catholic; but that, from the bad advice he has lately received, he is about to embrace errors, which he will repent of. I entreat you, that you would beg of him from me, not to follow any counsels, the result of which may trouble his conscience." When the Marshal of France, the brave Boucicault, whose captivity among the Turks had perhaps not improved his Christianity, heard from the bishop the Pope's refusal to submit himself to the king of France, he said, "Bishop, you may now return to France, for you have nothing more to do here; and I will execute what I have been charged with." The bishop replied "God's will be done." The Pope in his extremity intreated the king of Arragon, to send men to help him, offering to transfer his see to Perpignan, or Barcelona. The king of Arragon, says Froissart, carefully perused these letters, but paid little attention to their contents. He said to those near his person;—"What! does this priest suppose that I am to involve myself in a war with the king of France to support his quarrel? I should indeed be very blameworthy to interfere." "Sir," replied his knights, "what you say is true. You have no business to meddle with such matters; for you must know that the king of France has been ably advised, and has just cause to act as he does. Leave the clergy to themselves. They have long held their benefices undisturbed; and they ought to be made to feel, whence their wealth arises." While the king of Arragon and his knights talked together in this somewhat Rabelaisian style, grim fate was approaching Avignon in the shape of the French Marshal. He took Avignon without striking a blow, and invested the Pope closely in his palace, suffering no one to go in, or come out. Benedict had collected provisions enough to hold out for 2 or 3 years: but, (unfortunate oversight) he had forgotten fuel; and, as he and his cardinals were not

prepared to devour raw meat, they were forced to surrender, and to submit to the order of the king of France.

The moral of this episode is that it is not good for the Pope to quarrel with the French, and that even a Bomba is not to be depended on.

There is another coincidence between those times and ours. This same king of France made great preparations to invade England: both nations taxed themselves cheerfully: both were eager for the fray. The English policy was to allow the French to land without opposition; then to set fire to their fleet, avoid a pitched battle, and not to let one Frenchman leave England alive, except as a ransomed prisoner. But the winds and John of Berry were unfavourable to the projected invasion; and a few years more saw Henry V. in Paris, and France prostrate at his feet.

It may not be uninteresting to glance at the condition of Europe in the days of Clavijo. In France, Bretagne and Burgundy were dependent only in name, and made war or peace, without the consent of the French king, and as often against him, as on his side. Gascony and the south of France were English: and, in the glorious days of the Black Prince, Bordeaux eclipsed Paris. For a period of 100 years, beginning with the battle of Cressy in A. D. 1346, France was in an agony;—her monarchs weak or worthless; her nobles and princes of the blood, profuse, exacting, robbers, adulterers, murderers. The Dukes of Berry, Orleans, Burgundy, and Brittany were all alike infamous; the queen, Isabel of Bavaria, was another Messalina, or Agrippina; and the wretched insane king was a mere puppet in their hands. The courtiers resembled their lords. The people were ground down by unscrupulous and monstrous exactions. Armies marched through the unhappy land in every direction; French, English, Burgundians, Britons, Gascons, Germans. Plunder, violence, and conflagration followed in their train. During the brief truces that intervened there was no rest for the afflicted people. The Free companions, as they were called, spread like locusts, pillaging, robbing, and murdering. Froissart defines them as "men of all sorts, who made war 'upon every one that was worth robbing.'" They built or surprised towers, forts, and castles, made forays in every direction, and lived and died in lust, riot, and bloodshed. Covetous, cruel, and remorseless, no man's life was safe, and no woman's honour. Their one work was plunder and fighting; their one virtue courage. That was indomitable; hard and keen as their own swords. But the blackest feature of all was that no disgrace was attached to their calling; and these merciless ruffians and

robbers, reeking with the blood of women and children, clasped hands in friendly companionship with Chandos, Duguesclin, and the Black Prince. One of them, nicknamed the Arch-priest infamous for every vice, while plundering near Avignon, so terrified Pope Innocent VI. and his clergy that they entered into a treaty with him. "He entered Avignon, where he was received 'with as much respect as if he had been son to the king of France. *He dined many times with the Pope and Cardinals, who gave him absolution for all his sins* ; and at his departure, 'they presented him with 40,000 crowns.' (Froissart, Vol. I. 238.) After a career of ten years of successful villany, he was murdered by the 'ruffians, whom he led. Then famine came, and with it the fierce desire of revenge. The peasants rose in a Jacquerie against their tyrants, burnt their castles, dishonoured and murdered their wives and daughters, retaliated every form of torture and outrage, and tore their oppressors limb from limb, or flayed and crucified them. Such was the insecurity of the time, that the Dauphiness of France, the Duchess of Orleans, and 300 ladies of the highest families, had to flee for their lives to the little town of Meaux, which was instantly surrounded, and taken possession of by nine or ten thousands of the infuriated peasantry. Their few attendants, headed by the Duke of Orleans in person, attempted a gallant but hopeless defence in the market place; and, in a few hours all would have been over with the most illustrious blood of France, but for the interposition of God's providence. Just at that time, the Comte de Foix and the celebrated Captal de Buch were returning from a crusade against the Heathens in Prussia. With their small company of sixty lances, they were admitted into the market place, and, disdaining to defend the place, they threw every entrance open, and rode forth at full speed upon the rabble. The first flutter of their pennon was enough. The Jacques fled in dismay; full 7,000 of them were slain, or drowned in the river; and the Jacquerie was at an end. Multitudes were hanged without trial; and there was nothing for the miserable people but to go back to their misery, and bear as they best could, all that their oppressors chose to inflict. France seemed rushing headlong to ruin. One gallant king had died in prison; another was insane; the nobles were factious, venal, profligate; Cressy, Poitiers, Navarete, and Auray were crowded into a single life time; and Agincourt was close at hand. During that disastrous century, the most warlike nation in the world lay withering under a curse, powerless for good or evil: and, as Normandy had conquered England, it seemed as if England was to conquer France. Scotland under the First Edward was perhaps as wretched as France;

but her agony was shorter, and the rebound to freedom and victory more signal and glorious. The invaders were driven from France by Agnes Sorel and Joan of Arc; from Scotland by Robert the Bruce.

The great Empire of Russia was a dependency of the Tartars, rude, savage and uncivilized. There was no Prussia. The most powerful monarch of Central Europe was Sigismund of Hungary; and he had been beaten by the Turks. Italy torn by intestine strife, had still something of the old Roman fire in her soul; and the Venetians and Genoese yet held the monarchy of the seas, and quenched in blood the new-born fiery zeal of the Musulman: but Italy had no land army worthy of the name. Spain had three Kings—Henry of Castille, grandson of the Bastard, Martin of Arragon, and the Moorish dynasty in Granada; for, in the year of Grace 1400, the Moors still reigned in Spain, and a Greek Emperor in Constantinople. But in spite of all that Boucicault and the Genoese could do, and fight valiantly did they bestir themselves, Constantinople was simply awaiting its death-blow. Could Spain strike a blow for Christendom? Her armies were a brave but undisciplined rabble; and had they not had the support of Du Guesclin and the Free Companies, the Black Prince would have won the Victory of Navarete within an hour. A little later, at the battle of Albuja-rota, 8,000 Portuguese drove 40,000 Spaniards before them, led by Henry the Bastard himself. Indeed after the Portuguese had overpowered and slain the Free Companies, who had incautiously separated from the main body, it was a flight rather than a fight.

The English nation was then beyond doubt the most powerful and renowned of all Christendom. The country was at peace; the middle classes intelligent and wealthy, and the army successful in war, and unrivalled in strength and valour. But poor incapable French Richard had been newly put to death, and Henry was still insecure on the throne, where the Londoners had placed him. Stout King Richard, the first, had cured them of the crusade fever; and the truth is, that, secure in their beloved island, they looked on with considerable indifference, while their neighbours' houses were burning. For, it was true, that a black and threatening cloud was rising in the East, and no man could tell when the storm burst, what wrecks it might leave behind. There was a question of the East in those days, as in ours; but Europe was then "the sick man," and the Turk and the Tartar quarrelled for his inheritance.

Twice before the Cross seemed about to fall before the Crescent, and Europe to become a Musulman satrapy. The strong

arm of Eudes of Aquitain, and the hammer of Charles in the bloody fight of Tours, drove back the wave in its first fierce rush of devastation; and now for 700 years there had been one long ebb; and, though the Moors were still in Spain, they were there only on sufferance. Grenada balanced Constantinople in arts, in elegance and effeminacy; but, when the day of doom came, the Christian Constantine died like a hero in his harness; the Moorish Boabdil fled, weeping like a woman.

In the year 1240, the peril was still more imminent. The great Batou Khan, the 2nd in descent from Jengis, poured his hordes into Western Europe, conquered Russia, Poland and Hungary, and in the modern Russian Empire established a Kipchak (Cossack) dynasty, which lasted for 200 years. Moscow, Kiev, Breslau and Cracow were burnt. The great battle of Lignitz left Central Europe utterly defenceless. Germany was threatened; the Hungarians almost exterminated; and on their return laden with booty beyond the Volga, the Tartars devastated Servia, Bosnia and Bulgaria; while, in the same century, 5 crusades in 70 years ended in the final victory of the Mamelukes over the power and the chivalry of Germany, England and France, represented by such champions as Frederick II., St. Louis, and our own Edward the 1st. Fortunately for Europe, the Tartars turned their arms to the East—to China, Thibet and Hindustan; and the Mamelukes went down before the rising strength of the Ottoman Turks. Bajazet was only the 4th Sultan; but already, all Asia Minor was Turkish; he held nearly all the Greek empire in Europe; Constantinople had seen his armies before her walls: he was preparing for the conquest of Hungary; and his boast struck terror into Christendom, that, after the capture of Constantinople, he would march upon Rome, and feed his horse with oats on the high altar of St. Peter's. This was no empty boast. He could well have done it. After the victory at Nicopohs, there was no power in Europe, that could have stood his march for a day. Chandos and the Black Prince were gone; and his degenerate son now misgoverned England. The King of France was just becoming insane; Henry of Castille was a mere child; and, by universal consent, Sigismund of Hungary was the bulwark of Europe against the infidel.

Farther off, but not less formidable, and hating the very name of Christian, was the veteran warrior of Samarcand, the Great Timur (whose deeds already dwarfed those of Alexander) yet in his green old age, still burning for conquest, and having still before him the "crowning glory" of Angora. He believed it "to be the duty of every prince to invade any country where tyranny, oppression and iniquity are predominant;" and certainly (if any-

where in this wide world) all three were predominant in Christendom.

With two such war clouds ready to burst in whirlwind and tempest,—for Timur was a very whirlwind in speed, leaving behind him only wreck and devastation, and Bajazet had already well earned the formidable cognomen of the “lightning”—a hush of awe, such as separated the Medes and Lydians in the midst of battle, for a while stopped the din of arms, and drew together the deadliest enemies under the pressure of the common danger. The king of Cyprus, and the king of Armenia went from Court to Court, to warn, and to implore assistance. Charles of France, Richard of England, the Dukes of Berry, Anjou and Burgundy, held Council together; and it was determined to send a powerful force to the help of Sigismund of Hungary, upon whom the first brunt must fall, and who had sent ambassadors to lay before the Western kings the threats and projects of Bajazet, and the imminent peril to Christendom. The *entente cordiale*, we fear, in those days, meant a cordial hatred of each other, whatever it may mean now. Not an Englishman joined the expedition. It was wholly French and Burgundian. Early in 1396, as splendid and well appointed a little army as ever fought a stricken field, joined Sigismund at Buda. Its leader was John the Fearless, in the flower of his youth, and with a name as yet not infamous; but with him were the bravest and most experienced warriors of France. The Lord De Coucy was the real general; and with him the Constable and the Admiral of France, the valiant Boucicault, and the very cream and flower of French chivalry. It was an army altogether of knights and gentlemen. There were 1000 knights and 1000 squires, splendidly armed and gallantly appointed, full of that *elan*, which has so often led the French to victory, and full also of rashness and overweening vanity—the sure precursors of disasters. So confident were they of victory, that nothing was spoken of in the French camp, but the speedy defeat of the Turks, to be followed by the conquest of Syria, and the deliverance of Jerusalem: and, in the ensuing spring, reinforced by a combined army of French and English archers and men at arms, it was unanimously agreed that nothing in Asia could stand before them.

Sigismund took the field with 60,000 Cavalry; neither French nor Hungarians had any other Infantry than the camp followers. They crossed the Danube, and laid siege to Nicopolis. Their first encounter with the Turks was a glorious success; but it caused their ruin. The veteran De Coucy left the camp on a reconnoitring expedition, with 500 lances, and as many crossbow-

men on horseback. He came upon an army of 20,000 Turks, and, by skilful manœuvre, led them into an ambuscade, and totally defeated them with terrible slaughter. From that day the Constable of France envied and hated him, and invariably thwarted and opposed him in the council.

All this time there was nothing seen of Bajazet; and an express from the Greek emperor brought news that he was still in Egypt. The siege was pressed by the Hungarians, and the French were considerably in advance, in the most careless and confident security.

On the Monday before Michaelmas, in the year 1396, the French were busy with dinner, unarmed, and without even an outpost. John of Burgundy and his lords were somewhat heated with wine, when the Hungarian and French scouts rushed together into his tent, to tell him that the Turk was upon him. Drunk and sober, all armed and hastened to the field; the Marshal of the Hungarian rode up in hot haste, bearing Sigismund's command and entreaty, either to retire upon the main body, or to wait for only two hours until he could join them. The Lord De Coucy, being asked for his opinion, said that king Sigismund's was good counsel, which it was alike their duty and their interest to follow: "but the Constable instantly cried out, Yes, yes, the king of Hungary wishes to gain all the honour of the day. Let those obey him, who like: I never will;" and instantly displayed his banner. The Lords, heated with wine, and eager for the fight, followed him; and De Coucy, and Sir John de Vienne were forced to acquiesce. As yet they believed that Bajazet's vanguard of 8,000 men was all that was before them; and 1,500 of the chivalry of France were well able to stand against such odds, thrice told.

At the first charge, the Turkish vanguard driven before them, like chaff, poured through a defile into the plain beyond; and the French, eagerly following, found themselves in the presence of an army of 120,000 men, led by Bajazet himself, outflanking them on both sides, and already wheeling round to get between them and the Hungarians. Then they looked in each other's faces, and knew they were doomed men. But there was no thought of flight or surrender. They rushed into the thick of the enemy; for two hours, they bore the whole brunt of the Turkish army, and, before they were taken or slain, 15,000 of Bajazet's best troops lay weltering in their blood. "Had they waited," says Froissart, "for the Hungarian army consisting of 60,000 men, they might perhaps have gained a victory: but to their pride and presumption was the whole loss owing: and it was so great, that never since the defeat at Roncesvalles,

' where the twelve peers of France were slain, did the French suffer so considerably." The Hungarians, dismayed by the overthrow of the French, were overthrown at once, and pursued so furiously, that only Sigismund and the master of Rhodes, with five attendants, escaped in a small boat, just as the Turks reached the banks of the Danube. It was indeed the "lightning" stroke, rapid, irresistible, deadly.

Bajazet himself had taken no part in the fight with the Christians; but, going to that part of the field, and seeing the heaps whom they had slain, his face became livid with rage, and he vowed to take revenge on his prisoners. Next morning they were dragged naked before him. A French knight, who had been in his father's service and could speak Turkish, was ordered to point out John of Burgundy, the Constable, the Lord De Coucy, and six others, and at a signal from Bajazet, 290 gallant knights were slain in cold blood before his eyes. The Admiral was killed in the fight; and the gallant De Coucy, and the wretched Constable who was the chief cause of that day's disaster, died prisoners at Brusa. The others, after a year's delay, were ransomed,* and so ended the first trial of strength between Europe and Asia—between the crescent and the cross.

It is remarkable that an auxiliary force from Timur fought at Nicopolis under the banner of Bajazet. Sir James de Fay, who had served with Timur, gave himself up to the Tartars, and so saved his life; and other prisoners were concealed in their tents, and afterwards ransomed by their captors.

The heart of Bajazet was elated beyond all bounds by this great victory; the greatest ever won by a Turkish army in a century brilliant with conquests. He boasted that he was sprung from the lineage of the Great Alexander, and destined like him to be the master of the world. Had he marched at once upon Rome, he might have fulfilled his threat; but he refrained. He must have received from the Christian knights certain impressions of the vast military resources of France and England then happily at peace; for Richard the 2nd was newly married to the French King's daughter; and a prince, shrewd

* "The Lord de Boucicault felt all the bitterness of death. He was in the hands of the executioners, and was rescued at the last moment, by the tears, intreaties, and promises of John of Burgundy. From that day he became the implacable foe of Bajazet, harassed his sea coast, drove him from before the walls of Constantinople, when that city was about to surrender, and, if blood avenges blood, fully avenged the slaughter of his gallant brethren at Nicopolis. In consequence of his exploits against the Turks, he was chosen Governor of Genoa. But a more disastrous day than that of Nicopolis was at hand for this illustrious warrior. Stricken down on the fatal field of Poitiers, he died of his wounds in England, thus closing a long and brilliant career, chequered by every variety of fortune—the most romantic and adventurous even of that romantic age."

as the Turkish Sultan, could not fail to ask himself—if 1,500 of these Franks, madly led and taken by surprise, slew so many thousands of my best troops, how would it be, had I to deal with 150,000 under prudent and skilful leaders? There was great jesting at the Court of Bajazet, at the two Popes, or (as the infidels called them), the two “gods” of the Christians. His justice too was of the wildest. A woman complained that one of his attendants had robbed her of some milk she was carrying. The accused denied the charge: but the Sultan, with a blow of his scymitar, dashed him to the earth, and, ripping up his stomach, pointed out to the French lords that the woman’s story was true! Assuredly John of Burgundy learned much that did him no good, in the Turkish Court at Brusa.

The Turkish despot was now in the zenith of his fortunes. Constantinople, the long coveted prize alike of Turk and Tartar, was a pear all but fully ripe, and, ready at the first vigorous shake, to fall into his lap. But that delicious morsel was not for him. Baffled in his first spring by Boucicault, before he could collect his strength for a second and more fatal, he resolved to measure his strength with an adversary, far otherwise formidable than a handful of French knights, or the effeminate Greeks of the Eastern Empire.

Timur, the great Mongol, now enters on the stage, and bulks largely in European politics. It was impossible for two successful and ambitious monarchs, whose victorious armies were actually in each other’s presence along the whole line of Georgia, Armenia and the Euphrates, to have any other arbiter but the sword.

For five years Bajazet had been preparing for the struggle. He was eager to have it over, and confident of the event. The first provocation appears certainly to have come from him. Timur seems to have been contented that Bajazet should be the scourge of the Western infidels, and was willing even to aid him in that good work; while his own ambition pointed rather to India and China, than to the West. The correspondence between them, to be found in Gibbon, whether genuine or not, is singularly characteristic. “You have done well,” writes Timur, “you have been a champion of the Moslems, inflicted some loss on the Christians, and gained a few petty victories in Anatolia. What madness possesses you to measure your strength with mine? My armies cover Asia. Should the pismire provoke the elephant? alas! thou wilt be crushed under his foot.” Bajazet was goaded to fury, abused him as a thief of the desert, and so far forgot himself as to threaten his enemy’s women with dishonour. Of all insults this is the most stinging to an Asiatic;

and it is said that Timur revenged it, by inviting his captive rival to a feast, where they were served by the ladies of Bajazet's household unveiled !

The battle of Angora had little other political result than to avert for half a century the doom of Constantinople, and to make Timur's the foremost name in the world : and probably the world has never looked upon a more formidable warrior. For more than 60 years, his foot had been ever in the stirrup, his hand on the lance and the bow. Wounded, a captive, betrayed, defeated, he fought his way to empire, until all Asia lay at his feet, and Europe trembled at his name. It was not only that he had all the gifts and qualities of a first rate general, immense bodies of soldiers, impetuous as the French, patient of fatigue as the Russians, who idolized their leader, and, with him at their head, believed themselves to be invincible—and untold treasures gathered from the spoils of his enemies : the organization of his armies has never been equalled in ancient or modern times. There is absolutely no parallel, nothing *simile aut secundum* to that wondrous campaign, when he led an army of perhaps 200,000 men, with innumerable camp followers and heavy waggons dragged each by 20 oxen, through the vast central deserts to the North of the Caspian, where for several months they saw no trace of man or of human habitation, yet with his troops in such heart and condition, as to defeat the warlike tribes of the Kipchaks and golden Horde, against fearful odds, and to return by the sea of Azof, gloriously successful, and laden with booty. The best led and best appointed modern army would shrink from the attempt, or perish like the French in Russia. We may hereafter attempt to lay before our readers a sketch of his eventful history, of which an epitome may be found in Gibbon. For the present it is our pleasant task to introduce them to that good and trusty knight, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, and to let him tell us of the strange sights he saw by the way, and of the barbaric pomp and splendour of the Mongol Court of Samarcand.

A word of the book itself. It was not printed till the year 1582. A second edition was published in 1782. It is now translated into English for the first time, with a preface and a brief, tame, accurate sketch of Timur's history, by Mr. Clements Markham.

How and why Clavijo was sent as an ambassador to Timur may best be learned from his own words :—

"The great Lord Timour Bég, having killed the Emperor of Samarcand and seized upon his empire, where his own dominion commenced, as you will presently hear, and having conquered all the land of Mongolia, which is contained in the said empire, and the land of India the less, also having conquered all the empire of Khorassan, which is a great lordship, and having conquered and reduced to obedience the land of Tagikunna, with the

territory and lordship of a land called Rei, and also having conquered and reduced all Persia and Media, with the empire of Tabreez and of Sul-tanieh; and also having conquered the lordship of Gheelan, with the land of Derbent; and also having conquered the land of Armenia the less, and the land of Arsunga, and of Aseron, and of Anunike, and reduced to obedience the empire of Merdi, and the land of Kurdistan, which is in the said Armenia, also having conquered in battle the lord of India the less, and taken a great part of his territory, also having destroyed the city of Damascus, and reduced to submission the cities of Aleppo, of Babylonia, and of Baldas, and having overrun many other lands and lordships, and won many other battles, and achieved many conquests, he came against the Turk Ilderim Bayazid (who was one of the greatest and most powerful lords in the world) in his land of Turkey, and gave him battle near his castle, which was called Angora, conquering him and taking him prisoner, together with one of his sons.

In this battle there happened to be present Payo de Sotomayor and Hernan Sanchez de Palazuelos, ambassadors whom the high and puissant Lord Don Henry, by the grace of God, king of Castille and Leon, whom God preserve, had sent to ascertain the power which the said Timour Beg and Turk Ilderim possessed in the world, that they might behold their magnificence, and the number of the hosts which they had brought against each other. It happened that in the battle, the great Lord Timour Beg had notice of the presence of the said Payo and Hernan Sanchez, and, for love of the said high lord the King of Castille, he treated them honorably, took them with him, entertained them, and gave them certain gifts, and received news of the high and famous king of Castille, and of the great consideration and power he had amongst the Christian kings; and, to obtain his friendship, after having conquered in the battle, he ordered an ambassador, with letters and a present, to be sent to secure an alliance with him.

With the ambassadors there went a certain Zagatayan knight named Mohamed Alcagi, with whom Timour sent his gifts and letters. The said ambassador went to the said king of Castille, and presented the letters which the Lord Timour Beg had sent, and his presents, and the women which he also sent according to his custom.

His highness the king, having received the said letters and presents, and having heard the good words which the said Timour Beg sent by his letters and ambassador, ordered that another present and ambassadors should be sent to the said Timour Beg, to increase the friendship which he had shown. He ordered that Fray Alonzo Paez de Santa Maria, master of theology, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, and Gomez de Salazar, should convey the present and letters, and because the said mission is very arduous, and the journey very long, it is necessary to put in writing an account of all the places and countries through which the said ambassadors passed, and of the things which happened to them, that they may not be forgotten, and that there may be a complete knowledge concerning them.

To this end, in the name of God, in whose power are all things, and for the honour of the holy Virgin Mary his mother, I began to write from the day that the ambassadors reached the port of St Mary, near Cadiz, to embark in a carrack, in which they had to cross the sea; and with them the ambassador, whom the said Timour Beg had sent to the said lord the king."

They embarked at Port St Mary, May 21st 1403, touched at the Balearic islands, then subject to Arragon, early in June,

and on the 27th anchored at Gaeta, where they remained about a fortnight. On the 18th of July, they were caught in a storm, near Stromboli and witnessed the phenomenon of St. Elmo's lights, which, bating the voices in the air, which Clavijo himself does not pretend to have heard, is well and vividly described:—

"At noon on Wednesday the sails of the carrack were split, and she ran under bare poles, being in great danger. The storm lasted until Wednesday night, and the islands of Strangol and Bolcante sent forth great volumes of fire and smoke, and during the tempest the captain caused the litanies to be sung, and every one sought mercy from God. The prayers being concluded, and the tempest still raging, a bright light appeared on the mast head of the carrack, and another light was seen on the bowsprit, which is that part of the ship ahead of the forecastle, and another on the yard arm, which is over the poop, and all who were on board the carrack saw these lights, for they were called up to see them, and remained some time to see if they would disappear, but they did not cease to shine during the storm, and presently all those on board went to sleep, except the captain and certain mariners, whose duty it was to keep watch. The captain, and two mariners, who were awake, heard the voices of men in the air, and the captain asked the mariners if they heard that noise, they replied that they did, and all this time the tempest did not abate. Soon afterwards they again saw those lights, returned to the places where they had been before, so they awoke the rest of the crew, who also saw the lights, and the captain told them of the voices he had heard. These lights remained as long as it would take to say a mass, and presently the storm ceased."

They arrived at Rhodes on the 4th of August, and found that the grand master, with his comrade in arms at Nicopolis, the valiant Boucicault, (or as Clavijo delights to spell his name "Buchicate" and "Mosen (Monsieur) Buchicat") had sailed on an expedition against Scanderoon, or Alexandretta. While they were still at Rhodes, waiting for news of Timur, the knights returned with their Genoese allies, having failed indeed at Alexandretta and Tripoli, but having taken and sacked Beyrout. No one knew where Timur was to be found; but it was known that he had resolved to attack the Sultan of Babylon (Egypt.) Egypt escaped by timely submission: and the ambassadors agreed to go on to Karabagh, where Timur sometimes resided, by way of Constantinople and Trebizond.

It must not be supposed that the 14th century was an ignorant or unenlightened age. Five hundred years ago young life was stirring in every vein of Western Europe—the real germ of modern science, liberty and civilization. Wat Tyler and the Jacquerie shewed how far down the movement reached. The bold burghers of London and Flanders, Rienzi and his Romans, and the fierce and turbulent Parisians already held their own with monarchs. Then shone such names in literature as Dante, Petrarch, Boccacio, Joinville, Froissart, our own Bradwardine

and ancient Gower, Chaucer, Barbour and "blind Harry;" and above them all in deep enduring hold on the people's mind and heart, in grand and new and abiding results, the real founder and leader of the Reformation, the wise and holy Wickliffe. Latin was better known, wider spread, and far more used in England than it is at this day; and Barlaam and Chrysoloras and others were busy teaching Greek, the study of which had become the passion, the rage of the times, and was spreading all over Europe. It seems even to have reached Spain; and our grave and stately ambassador is not without his tincture of the classics. Thus;—

"We anchored between the land of Turkey and the said island of Tonia, in a Strait, near which stood the great city of Troy. From this place they saw the edifices of Troy, with parts of the wall, having doors at intervals, and towers, and other buildings like castles. It is built in a plain near the sea, and extends towards some high mountains, and at the other side of the city, a high and sharp peak rose up, where it is said that there used to be a castle, called Ethon.

The island of Tonia, which is opposite the said city, used to be the port of the city, to which ships resorted. It was occupied by king Priam, who built a great castle on it, called Tenedos, for the defence of the shipping."

And again, when he comes to the castles of the Dardanelles;—

"The castle is called "the end of the roads," and when the Greeks came from their country to destroy the city of Troy, they had their camp in this castle, and in front of it the Greeks made some great caves, leading towards Troy, three in number. On the opposite side of the strait, there was another castle, on a hill near the sea, called Xetca, and these two castles guard the strait of Romania. A little further on, on the Turkish side, there are two great towers, with a few houses near them, and this place is called Dubeque. They say that the city of Troy extended from Cape St Mary to this place, which is a distance of sixty miles.

It is no marvel that the Greeks took ten years to win a city 60 miles long, and probably wide in proportion! The ruins seen by our travellers were the ruins of Alexandria Troas, where even to this day are the remains of a gymnasium, baths, theatre, aqueduct, and a large building, traditionally known as "The Palace of Priam." The legend of Hero and Leander seems to have been unknown to Clavijo, or perhaps, such a mere love passage was deemed unworthy the notice of a grave Castilian knight.

On the 24th of October they reached Pera, where they lodged. The voyage therefore from St. Mary's to Constantinople, with no other delays than such as were inevitable, occupied full five months of summer weather. It is true that the voyage was not direct from port to port. No ship was placed at the disposal of the ambassadors, and they made their way in any vessel, they chanced to meet with, from Spain to Ivica, from

Ivica to Gaeta, from Gaeta to Rhodes, and from Rhodes to Constantinople. Five months now in a sailing vessel would take them round the Cape from India to China. On the 28th they were invited to the Imperial Court. After many vicissitudes, the Emperor Manuel was then firmly seated on the throne, which the overthrow of Bajazet, and the death of Timur secured to him for many years. The interview is described with great reserve and more than Spartan brevity.—

"The emperor had just returned from hearing mass, and he received them very well, in a chamber apart, which was lofty and covered with carpets, on one of which there was the skin of a leopard, and in the back part pillows were placed, embroidered with gold. Having conversed with the ambassadors for some time, the emperor ordered them to return to their lodgings, and he sent them a large stag, which had been brought in by some of his huntsmen. The emperor had with him, the empress his wife, and three small children, the eldest being about eight years old."

At the request of the ambassadors, the Emperor sent a gentleman of Genoa, named Hilario, who had married one of his illegitimate daughters, to show them the "ions" of Constantinople. They visited the churches of St. John Lateran, the Peribolike, another church dedicated to St. John, the Hippodrome, still in its glory, and the far famed St. Sophia. All are minutely described; but Clavijo was neither a painter, nor an architect: and his word painting was vague and inaccurate. Yet the following description of the Hippodrome, (now the Atmeidan where the Turkish cavalry exercise), is not without merit, as a picture of what has long since passed away:

"On another day the ambassadors went to see a place called the Hippodrome, where they joust. It is surrounded by white marble pillars, so large that three men can only just span round them, and their height is two lances. They are thirty-seven in number, fixed in very large white marble bases, and above, they were connected by arches going from one to the other, so that a man can walk all round, on the top of them, and there are battlements, breast high, of white marble, and these are made for ladies, and maidens, and noble women, when they view the jousts and tournaments which are celebrated here. In front of these seats, there is a row of pillars, on which is a high seat, raised on four marble pillars, surrounded by other seats, and at each corner there are four images of white marble, the size of a man, and the emperor is accustomed to sit here, when he views the tournaments. Near these pillars, there are two blocks of white marble, one on the top of the other, of great size, each one being the height of a lance, or more, and on the top of these blocks there are four square blocks of copper. On the top of these blocks there is an immense stone, sharp at the end, at least six lances in height. It is not fixed in any way, so that it was marvellous to think how so great a mass of stone, yet so sharp and fine, could have been placed there. It is so high that it may be seen above the city, from the sea. This column has been placed there in memory of some great event, and on the base there is an inscription, announcing who it was who caused this stone to be placed there, and for what reason, but as the writing was in Greek, and it was getting late,

the ambassadors could not wait to have it read to them. But they say that it was raised to commemorate some great deed. Beyond it the range of columns continues, though they are not so high as the first, and the deeds of the knights are painted on them, and between these columns there are three copper figures of serpents. They are twisted like a rope, and they have three heads, with open mouths. It is said that these figures of serpents were put here, on account of an enchantment which was effected. The city used to be infested by many serpents, and other evil animals, which killed and poisoned men; but an emperor performed an enchantment over these figures, and serpents have never done any harm to the people of the city, since that time.

The plain is very large, and is surrounded by steps, one rising above the other to a considerable height; and these steps are made for the people of the city, and below them there are great houses, with doors opening on the plain, where the knights who are going to joust are accustomed to arm and disarm."

The Hippodrome is no longer circular or oval, it is an open oblong, about 800 feet long, and 400 wide, bounded on one side by the mosque of Ahmed, on the other by the dead wall of a hospital. The column, with the Greek inscription, which they could not read 'for the lateness of the hour,' was an Egyptian obelisk, with undecyphered hieroglyphics, and the inscription in Greek and Latin, was a mere intimation that it had fallen, and been raised to the site it then occupied by the Emperor Theodosius. The other obelisk, dimly alluded to by Clavijo, had been covered (the lower part at least) with plates of brass, imbedded in the marble, with frames (so to speak) in *bas relief*. But by far the most interesting object he was privileged to see (and it is most provoking that he describes it so badly) was the brass pillar in the form of three serpents, with open jaws, twisting round each other, which was found in the tent of Mardonius, after the battle of Plataea, as a stand for the golden tripod, which, along with it, was presented to the shrine at Delphi. Its identity is historically certain. What hands formed it, whence it came to the Persians, why it accompanied Mardonius on his march, are questions that excite and baffle conjecture. It was thrown down, and the heads broken off and carried away about the year 1700. Part probably may still be found *in situ*, covered with earth and rubbish. Sultan Mahommed is said to have broken off the underjaw of one of the serpents with his lance.

The description of St. Sophia, less than 50 years before it fell into the hands of the Moslems, is so curious and interesting, that we make no apology for the length of the extract;—

"On the same day the ambassadors went to see the church which is called St. Sophia, which is the largest, most honoured, and most privileged of all the churches in the city, and it has canons who do duty as if it was a cathedral, and a patriarch, whom the Greeks call *Marpollit*.

In a court, in front of the church, there are nine very large white marble pillars, the largest I ever beheld, and it is said that a great palace used to stand on the top of them, where the patriarch and his clergy held their meetings. In this same court, in front of the church, a wonderfully high stone column stands, on the top of which there is a horse made of copper, of the size of four large horses put together, and on its back there is the figure of an armed knight, also of copper, with a great plume on his head, resembling the tail of a peacock. The horse has chains of iron round its body, secured to the column, to prevent it from falling, or being moved by the wind. This horse is very well made, and one fore and one hind leg is raised, as if it was in the act of prancing. The knight, on its back, has his right arm raised, with the hand open, while the reins are held with the left arm. This column, horse, and knight, are so large and high, that it is wonderful to see them. This marvellous horse is said to have been placed here by the Emperor Justinian, who erected the column, and performed great and notable deeds against the Turks, in his time.

At the entrance to this church, under an arch, there is a small but very rich and beautiful chapel, raised upon four marble columns, and opposite this chapel is the door of the church. It is very large and high, and covered with brass, and in front of it there is a small court, containing some high terraces, beyond which there is another door covered with brass, like the first. Within this door there is a broad and lofty nave, with a ceiling of wood, and on the left hand there are very large and well built cloisters, adorned with slabs of marble and jasper of various colours. The body of the church contains five lofty doors, all covered with brass, and the centre one is the largest. The body of the church is the loftiest, most rich, and most beautiful that can be seen in the whole world. It is surrounded by three large and broad naves, which are joined to it, so that mass may be heard in all parts of the church. The arches of the naves are of green jasper, and unite the roofs of the nave with that of the body of the church, but the summit of the latter rises much higher than that of the naves. It is dome shaped, and very high, so that a man must have good eyes who looks up from beneath, and the church is one hundred and five paces long, by ninety-three broad, and the dome is supported by four pillars, very large and thick, covered with flags of many coloured jaspers; and from pillar to pillar there are arches of green jasper, which are very high and sustain the dome. In the arches there are four very large slabs, two on the right hand and two on the left, which are coloured with a substance made from a powder, artificially, and called porphyry. The dome is covered with very rich mosaic work, and, over the high altar, the image of God the Father, very large, is wrought in mosaics of many colours, but it is so high up, that it only looks about the size of a man, or a little larger, though really it is so large that it measures three *palmos* between the eyes; but to him who looks at it, it does not appear to be more nor less than a man, and that is owing to the very great height it is placed above the ground.

On the floor, in the centre of the part under the dome, there is a pulpit placed on four columns of jasper; and the sides of it are covered with flags of jasper, and this pulpit is surmounted by a capital, raised on eight very large jasper columns, and here they preach, and also say the gospel on feast days. The walls and floor of the church are lined with flags of jasper, worked all over with ornaments, very beautiful to behold. The part between the arches, which supports the dome, was of very handsome white stone, on which many appropriate figures were inlaid, and above that there was very rich mosaic. The arched roofs of the naves surround-

ed the dome, except where the high altar stood, all which was worth seeing. The said arched roofs were ninety paces broad, and four hundred and ten paces round, and they were beautifully inlaid with mosaics. In the wall, on the left hand side, there is a very large white slab, on which, among many other figures, was drawn, very naturally, without any human artifice of sculpture or painting, the most sacred and blessed Virgin Mary, with our Lord Jesus Christ in her most holy arms, with his most glorious forerunner, St. John the Baptist, on one side. These images, as I said before, are not drawn, or painted with any colour, or inlaid, but the stone itself gave birth to this picture, with its veins, which may be clearly seen; and they say that when this stone was cut, to be placed in this most holy place, the workmen saw these most wonderful and fortunate images on it, and, as this church was the most important one in the city, that stone was deposited in it. The said images appear as if they were in the clouds of heaven, and as if there was a thin veil before them.

This appeared most wonderful, as a thing which God himself had shown; and at the foot of these images there is an altar, and a small chapel, in which they say mass; and in this church was shown the holy body of a patriarch, which was entire, both in bone and flesh.

The ambassadors were also shown the gridiron on which the blessed St. Lawrence was roasted, and in the church of St. Sophia there are vaults and cisterns, and subterranean chambers, which are strange things, wonderful to see. Near the church there are many fallen edifices, and doors leading to the church, closed and ruined. In the church there is a very large cistern under ground, capable of floating ten galleys. All these works, and many others in this church, were shown, so that they can neither be related nor written briefly, and so great is the edifice, and the wonderful works in the church are so numerous, that they take a long time to see. The roofs are all covered with lead. This church is privileged, and any person, either Greek or of any other nation, who commits a crime, either of robbery or murder, and takes refuge here, may not be taken hence."

The statue, seen by Clavijo in front of the church, was a bronze statue of Justinian on horseback, going forth in the armour of Achilles, to make war upon the Persians. It was melted down by the Turks, and cast into cannon; a just retribution for Justinian's having melted down the silver statue of Theodosius to help in the decoration of the church of St. Sophia. What strange associations are suggested by the 100 pillars, which support its roof! Eight of green marble came from the world-renowned fane of Diana at Ephesus. Paul's eye may have rested on them. Eight of porphyry once upheld Aurelian's temple of the Sun. When Clavijo saw them they bore up the most splendid of Christian Churches. Now they stand in their beauty in the most stately of Mussulman Mosques. Yet a little while, and "Kyrie, eleison" shall again cleave its way through them to the upper air.

It must be confessed that this celebrated building has after all a heavy and clumsy effect, with its shabbiest of all entrances, and its mean half dome. The great dome itself has but an elevation of 18 feet, and compared with the glorious ideal of our

matchless Cathedrals, or the majestic and exquisite proportions of its more modern rival, St. Peter's at Rome, the famous St. Sophia, as a work of art, is a heavy, tawdry, costly disappointment.

Oddly enough the Turks are believed to have borrowed their national crescent from the crescent moon, sculptured on her pillars, the well known emblem of Diana.

The main delight of the ambassadors, however, was to see relics; and they were gratified to their heart's content. In the Church of St. John, taken from a tower which was only opened by an order from the emperor, this is what they saw. The monks came forth in their robes, with lighted tapers, chaunting very mournful hymns, and with many incense bearers before them. They placed the relics on a high table, covered with a silken cloth, in the body of the Church. Each was in a gold casket, containing a crystal case. They saw the very piece of bread which Christ gave to Judas, the blood that flowed from his side, the hairs which the Jews plucked from his beard, the iron of the lance of Longums with the blood as fresh as if it had been shed that morning, and the piece of sponge held up to him on the cross. They had already seen the wood of the true cross, which was "black," and (alas for the claims of the holy coat of Treves!)—

"In the same case with this board, there was the garment of Jesus Christ, for which the knights of Pilate cast lots. It was folded, and sealed, that people who came to see it might not cut bits off, as had been done before, but one sleeve was left outside the seals. The garment was of a red dunty, like mushu, and the sleeve was narrow, and it was doubled to the elbow. It had three little buttons, made like twisted cords, like the knots on a doublet, and the buttons, and the sleeve, and all that could be seen of the skirt, seemed to be of a dark rose colour; and it did not look as if it had been woven, but as if it had been worked with a needle, for the strings looked twisted in network, and very tight. When the ambassadors went to see these relics, the people of the city, who knew it, came also, and they all cried very loudly, and said their prayers.

On the same day the ambassadors went to see a convent of old ladies, called *Omnipotens*, and they were shown a stone of many colours in the church, on which it was said that our Lord was placed, when he was taken down from the cross. On it were the tears of the three Marys, and of St. John, which they wept when Jesus Christ, our God, was taken down; and these tears looked fresh, as if they had just fallen."

Much more than all this they saw,—John the Baptist's finger that pointed to the Lamb of God—his arm with that thumb bitten off which routed a dragon,—a picture of the Virgin painted by Luke—in short all the shameless apparatus of baptized idolatry; and they believed so stupidly, that it is quite refreshing to get away out of the filthy scum out amongst the wild manly Tartars.

In Clavijo's time, Constantinople was 18 miles in circuit, and contained, as he supposed, 3,000 churches, many however in ruins. The roof of the great cistern rested on 490 pillars, and by an ominous coincidence it was even then known as the cistern of Mohammed ! Pera belonged to the Genoese.

The embassy sailed for Trebizond in November, but narrowly escaped shipwreck, and were driven back to Pera where they staid all the winter. On the 20th of March, 1404, they again weighed anchor, and, touching at Sinope, reached Trebizond on April 11th. Clavijo supposes the distance to be 960 miles. It is short of 600.

Trebizond had an Emperor of its own, tributary to Timur. He was called Manuel, and his son Alexis ; names, which Clavijo travesties into Germanoh and Quelex. Here he favours us with his opinion of the leading errors of the Greek Church ; one of the queerest being, that, when a wicked fellow died, by changing his clothes, and giving him a new name, the devil " did not know him," and so he got off.

But we must hasten to Timur, joining in the wild merciless gallop of the unfortunate Spaniards. This was the order of their march.

"On Saturday, the 3rd of May, they set out again, and reached a town where they were treated well, and given food and fresh horses ; and at night they came to another town, where they were given plenty of food and horses, and everything they required. The custom of the country was that, at each town where they arrived, small carpets were brought from each house, for them to sit upon, and afterwards they placed a piece of printed leather in front, on which they had their meals. The bread of these towns was very bad, and was made in this way —they knead a little flour, and make very thin cakes, which they put on a pan, over the fire, and when they are hot, they take them out ; and this is the bread which they bring on these pieces of leather. They also bring out plenty of meat, and milk, and cream, and eggs, and honey. This is the best food they have, and they bring it from each house, and if the ambassadors had to remain, the people brought them plenty of meat, and all that they required. When the ambassadors came to any place, an officer went on before, and the ambassador from Timour Beg ordered food, and horses, and men for them ; and if they did not come, the people received *such a number of blows with sticks and whips, that it was quite wonderful*. Thus the people of these towns were so severely punished that they fled, when they saw a Zagatay coming. A Zagatay is a man in the host of Timour Beg, of noble lineage."

At Khoi they saw a giraffe. Here is its verbal photograph :—

"When the ambassadors arrived in the city of Khoi, they found in it an ambassador, whom the Sultan of Babylon had sent to Timour Beg ; who had with him as many as twenty horses and fifteen camels, laden with presents, which the Sultan of Babylon sent to Timour Beg. He also had six rare birds, and a beast called *jornufa*, which creature is made with a body as large as that of a horse, a very long neck, and the fore legs much longer

than the hind ones. Its hoofs are like those of a bullock. From the nail of the hoof to the shoulders it measured sixteen *palmos*; and when it wished to stretch its head, it raised it so high that it was wonderful; and its neck was slender, like that of a stag. The hind legs were so short, in comparison with the fore legs, that a man who had never seen it before, might well believe that it was seated, although it was standing up; and the buttocks were worn, like those of a buffalo. The belly was white, and the body was of a golden colour, surrounded by large white rings. The face was like that of a stag, and on the forehead it had a high sharp projection, the eyes were large and round, and the ears like those of a horse. Near the ears it had two small round horns, covered with hair, which looked like those of a very young stag. The neck was long, and could be raised so high, that it could reach up to eat from the top of a very high wall; and it could reach of to eat the leaves from the top of a very lofty tree, which it did plentifully.

To a man who had never seen such an animal before, it was a wonderful sight."

At Tabreez, then the 2nd city of Timur's Empire, they were honorably received by the Chief Magistrate, who was called the *Darogah*. At Sultanieh they had an audience of Miran Mirza, oldest son of Timur and Governor of Persia. Miran Mirza was about forty years of age, "a large corpulent gouty man," and of late going altogether to the bad. He was civil to the ambassadors, and gave them the usual present of dresses.

At Teheran they had two days' rest, and among other dainties, a horse roasted with his head on. Teheran is in the land of Rei, the Rhages of the Apocrypha. At the next stage, the pace began to tell: the three ambassadors fell sick; and seven of their suite gave in and returned to Teheran, when two of them died of exhaustion. The rest galloped on, sleeping usually in the open air, till they reached Damghan. Here they saw the first monuments of Timur's workmanship—four towers of human heads, plastered together with mud. There were 60,000 heads. It was July, and the heat was terrible. They could not walk; they were more dead than alive—and begged but for a single night's rest; but the great lord, whom Timur had sent to meet them, said one day's delay was as much as his life was worth; all he could do was to give them pillows for their saddle bows; and like poor Henry Martin they were inexorably driven forward.

Before they reached Nishapore, Clavijo's colleague Gomes de Salazar was dying. He was carried on men's shoulders into the city, and there breathed his last—never to see the face of Timur, or his own beloved Spain again.

Here a message reached them from the celebrated Shah Rokh, the youngest and the best of Timur's sons, inviting them to visit him at Herat. But the order was imperative—to gallop forward to Timur. On July 30th, they reached Meshed.

On the 21st of August, they crossed the Oxus, called by Clavijo the Viadme, "one of the rivers of paradise, where Alexander fought with Porus, king of India." And about the end of August they reached Kesh, Timur's birth-place and patrimony, 30 miles South from Samarcand.

Clavijo's journey may be easily followed in any common map. After leaving Meshed, they struck nearly due East through the desert of Khiva. The first large town they met with, one day's journey from Meshed, Clavijo calls *Buelo*; it could only be Kelat. From the 12th to the 14th of August, they rested at *Anchoi* (Andkhoo); and on the 18th reached *Vacq* (Balkh), then enclosed by three walls, and fast going to decay. The outer wall was of earth, 90 feet broad, but breached in many places; and only the inner division of all was tolerably inhabited. From Balkh they struck due North, crossing the Oxus to *Termit* (Termes) on a bridge of boats constructed by Timur for the passage of his armies. On the 27th, one of their attendants died, another victim to this merciless ride; on the 28th they reached Kesh, and the luxury of rest. The whole journey from the Court of Henry to the Court of Timur occupied a year and three months.

They found Timur, with his household and court, living in gardens or rather beautiful parks outside the city: and tents were pitched for them in one of the loveliest spots in the world. The great prince was a man of noble presence, tall, stout and finely shaped, with a ruddy complexion, fair skin, and long white beard. His eyes had lost their piercing glance, and were now dim with age.

This is an account of their first interview:—

"Timour Beg was seated in a portal, in front of the entrance of a beautiful palace; and he was sitting on the ground. Before him there was a fountain, which threw up the water very high, and in it there were some red apples. The lord was seated cross-legged, on silken embroidered carpets, amongst round pillows. He was dressed in a robe of silk, with a high white hat on his head, on the top of which there was a spinal ruby, with pearls and precious stones round it.

As soon as the ambassadors saw the lord, they made a reverential bow, placing the knee on the ground, and crossing the arms on the breast, then they went forward and made another; and then a third, remaining with their knees on the ground. The lord ordered them to rise and come forward; and the knights, who had held them until then, let them go. Three Meerzas, who stood before the lord, and were his most intimate councillors, named Alodalmelec Meerza, Borundo Meerza, and Noor Eddin Meerza, then came and took the ambassadors by the arms, and led them forward until they stood together before the lord. This was done that the lord might see them better; for his eyesight was bad, being so old that the eyelids had fallen down entirely. He did not give them his hand to kiss, for it was not the custom for any great lord to kiss his hand; but he asked

after the king, saying, "How is my son the king? is he in good health?" When the ambassadors had answered, Timour Beg turned to the knights who were seated around him, amongst whom were one of the sons of Tokatuish, the former emperor of Tartary, several chiefs of the blood of the late emperor of Samarcand, and others of the family of the lord himself, and said, "Behold! here are the ambassadors sent by my son the king of Spain, who is the greatest king of the Franks, and lives at the end of the world. These Franks are truly a great people, and I will give my benediction to the king of Spain, my son. It would have sufficed if he had sent you to me with the letter, and without the presents, so well satisfied am I to hear of his health and prosperous state."

The letter which the king had sent was held before the lord, in the hand of his grandson; and the master of theology said, through his interpreter, that no one understood how to read the letter except himself, and that when his highness wished to hear it, he would read it. The lord then took the letter from the hand of his grandson and opened it, saying that he would hear it presently, and that he would send for the master, and see him in private, when he might read it, and say what he desired."

Now for a drawing room, where the great Khanum received the "cream of the cream" of Samarcand:—

"There were three hundred jars of wine placed before the lord, on the ground, and there were also large skins full of cream, into which the attendants put loaves of sugar, and mixed it up, and this was what they drank on that day. When the people were all arranged in order round the wall which encircled the pavilion, Cano, the chief wife of the lord, came forth to be present at the feast. She had on a robe of red silk, trimmed with gold lace, which was long and flowing, but without sleeves, or any opening, except one to admit the head, and two arm holes. It had no waist, and fifteen ladies held up the skirts of it, to enable her to walk. She had so much white lead on her face, that it looked like paper; and this is put on to protect it from the sun, for when they travel in winter or summer, all great ladies put this on their faces. She had a thin veil over her face, and a crested head dress of red cloth, which hung some way down the back. This crest was very high, and was covered with large pearls, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones, and it was embroidered with gold lace, on the top of which there was a circlet of gold, set with pearls. On the top of all there was a little castle, on which were three very large and brilliant rubies, surmounted by a tall plume of white feathers. One of these feathers hung down as low as the eyes, and they were secured by golden threads, and, as she moved, they waved to and fro.

Her hair, which was very black, hung down over her shoulders, and they value black hair much more than any other colour. She was accompanied by three hundred ladies, and an awning was carried over Cano, supported by a lance which was borne by a man. It was made of white silk, in the form of the top of a round tent, and held over her, to protect her from the sun.

A number of eunuchs, who guard the women, walked before her, and in this way she came to the pavilion where the lord was, and sat down near him, with all her ladies, and three ladies held her head dress with their hands, that it might not fall on one side.

As soon as she was seated, another of the wives of the lord came out from another enclosure, with many ladies, dressed in the same way, and sat down in the pavilion, a little below Cano. She was the second wife, and was called Quinchicano. Then, from another enclosure, came another wife,

and sat down a little below the second, and in this way nine wives came out, and sat round the lord, eight of them being his own, and one the wife of his grandson.

The wives of the lord had the following names. The chief wife was named Cano, which means "queen" or "great lady," and she was the daughter of a former emperor of Samarcand, named Ahincan, who also reigned over Persia and Damascus. They knew the mother of this emperor, but not his father; and he was very brave in battle, and made many laws and ordinances, which still regulate the empire. The second wife was called Quinchucano, which means little lady, and she was a daughter of Tumanga, the king of a land called Andricoja. The names of the others were Dileoltagna, Cholpamalaga, Mundagasa, Vengaraga, Ropa-arbaraga, and Yauguraga, which means "queen of the heart," and Timour Beg gave her that name last August."

All sitting down, shows, gymnastics, jugglers, and elephants (the spoils of India) were exhibited, and all, lords and ladies alike, made ready for the royal feast.

"After the lord, and his women, had drunk a great deal, they began to eat many sheep and horses, roasted whole, which were served up on very large skins, like printed leather, which men carried round; and there was so much that it took three hundred men and more to bring it, and there was a great noise when they brought it before the lord. They then put it into the basins, and served it up without bread, according to the custom; and all this time cartloads of meat did not cease to arrive, and camels with panniers full of meat, which was placed on the ground, in great heaps, and eaten by the rest of the people. Afterwards they brought many tables, without cloths, on which were dishes of meat cooked with rice, and bread made with sugar. As night came on they placed many lighted lanterns before the lord, and they commenced eating and drinking again, as well the men as the ladies, so that the feast lasted all night, and during the night two relations of the lord were married. When the ambassadors saw that this would last all the night, and they had had as much as they wanted, they returned to their lodgings, while the lord and his ladies continued their revelry."

This was the fashion of the eating;

"They placed these sheep and horses on very large round pieces of stamped leather. When the lord called for meat, the people dragged it to him on these pieces of leather, so great was its weight; and as soon as it was within twenty paces of him, the carvers came, who cut it up, kneeling on the leather. They cut it in pieces, and put the pieces in basins of gold and silver, earthenware and glass, and porcelain, which is very scarce and precious. The most honorable piece was a hunch of the horse, with the loin, but without the leg, and they placed parts of it in ten cups of gold and silver. They also cut up the haunches of the sheep. They then put pieces of the tripes of the horses, about the size of a man's fist, into the cups, and entire sheep's heads, and in this way they made many dishes. When they had made sufficient, they placed them in rows. Then some men came with soup, and they sprinkled salt over it, and put a little into each dish, as sauce; and they took some very thin cakes of corn, doubled them four times, and placed one over each cup or basin of meat."

Shade of Ude! Horse tripes and whole sheep's heads in cups of gold! The drinking—fermented mare's milk, wine, and

cream sweetened with sugar—following such a feast speaks voluminously for the digestive organs of the Mongols. The great Khanuim was a right jovial old dame: though at this time fully past her “3 score years and 10.”

“When the ladies have taken the cups, those who bring the wine, remain with the flat plates in their hands, and walk backwards, so as not to turn their backs to the ladies. As soon as they are at a little distance, they bend their right knees again, and remain there. When the ladies have finished drinking, the attendants go before them, and the ladies place the cups on the plates which they hold. You must not think that this drinking is of short duration, for it lasts a long time, without eating. Sometimes, when these attendants are before the ladies, with their cups, the ladies order them to drink, and they kneel down, and drink all that is in the cups, turning them upside down, to shew that nothing is left; and on these occasions they describe their prowess in this respect, at which all the ladies laugh.

Cano, the wife of Timour Beg, came to this feast, and sometimes the company drank wine, and at others they drank cream and sugar. After the drinking had lasted a long time, Cano called the ambassadors before her and gave them to drink with her own hand, and she importuned Ruy Gonzalez for a long time, to make him drink, for she would not believe that he never touched wine. The drinking was such that some of the men fell down drunk before her; and this was considered very jovial, for they think that there can be no pleasure without drunken men.”

Next followed a masquerade. “On this occasion,” says Ali of Yezd, “Timur caused all sorts of amusements to be enjoyed. An amphitheatre was covered with carpets, where there were masquerades. The women were dressed like goats, others like sheep and fairies; and they ran after each other. The skimmers and butchers appeared like lions and foxes, and all other tradesmen contributed specimens of their skill.”

In short, with an iron will, with first rate military genius, and such power as is rarely given to man, Timur the Great was in truth a truculent, brutal barbarian, nothing differing in cruelty and coarseness from the fierce hordes he led. Next day after all had gorged themselves to the utmost, and had slept off their drunken debauch, the tyrant ordered a great number of gallows to be set up, that it might be seen that he could be severe, as well as kind and merciful. Here are specimens of Timur's justice:—

“The first piece of justice was inflicted upon a chief magistrate, whom they call Dina, who was the greatest officer in all the land of Samarcand. Timour had left him in the city as his magistrate, when he departed, for six years and eleven months, during which time this man had neglected his duties; so the lord ordered him to be hanged, and confiscated all his goods. The justice inflicted upon this great man, caused terror amongst the people, and the same punishment was ordered to be inflicted upon another man, who had interceded for this magistrate. A councillor of the lord, named Burado Meerza, asked for his pardon, if he paid a sum of four hun-

dred thousand bezants of silver, each bezant being equal to a silver rial. The lord approved of this, and when the man had given all he had, he was tormented to give more, and as he had no more, he was hung up by the feet until he was dead.

Another piece of justice was inflicted upon a great man, who had been left in charge of three thousand horses when the lord departed, because he could not produce them all. He was hanged, although he pleaded that he would produce, not only three thousand, but six thousand horses, if the lord would give him time. In this, and other ways, the lord administered justice.

He also ordered justice to be executed upon certain traders, who had sold meat for more than it was worth, and upon shoemakers; and other traders were fined for selling their goods at a high price. The custom is, that, when a great man is put to death, he is hanged; but the meaner sort are beheaded."

During the feast, if the crowd chanced to press too near, his guards shot them with arrows, or dashed them to the earth, with maces. All through their journey in every town and village, there was nothing but intolerable oppression.

"When they arrived at any city or village, the first thing which the followers of the knights, who accompanied the ambassadors, did, was to ask for the *reis* or chief of the place; and they took the first man they met in the street, and, with many blows, forced him to show them the house of the *reis*. The people who saw them coming, and knew they were troops of Timour Beg, ran away as if the devil was after them, and those who were behind their shops, selling merchandize, shut them up, and fled into their houses; and they said one to another, "*Elchee*," which means ambassador, and that, with the ambassadors there would come a black day for them."

"*Væ victis!*" is but too often the terrible war cry of the conqueror; but Timur's wrath was indiscriminate and destructive as the hurricane or the earthquake, and alike insensible to pity. Not men alone, but grey hairs, the sick, the lame, and the blind, women and helpless children helped to build up these accursed towers and pyramids of human heads, which rose up to heaven in dreadful testimony against him. There is something sublime in the sentence which Ahmed Ben Arabshah puts into the lips of the spirit of winter; "If thou art a spirit of hell, so am I. 'Go on to extirpate mankind and make the earth cold! yet thou wilt find at last that my blasts are colder; and by the Almighty that liveth, I will abate thee nothing.'" The allusion is to the death of Timur in the winter (February) of 1405, at Otrar, on his way to China.

It is pleasant to pass from such a theme to Clavijo's description of the celebrated city of Samarcand, which, though long, is well worth reading.

"The city of Samarcand is situated in a plain, and surrounded by an earthen wall. It is a little larger than the city of Seville, but outside the

city, there are a great number of houses, joined together in many parts so as to form suburbs. The city is surrounded on all sides by many gardens and vineyards, which extend in some directions a league and a half in others two leagues, the city being in the middle. In these houses and gardens there is a large population, and there are people selling bread, meat, and many other things, so that the suburbs are much more thickly inhabited than the city within the walls. Amongst these gardens, which are outside the city, there are great and noble houses, and here the lord has several palaces. The nobles of the city have their houses amongst these gardens, and they are so extensive that, when a man approaches the city, he sees nothing but a mass of very high trees. Many streams of water flow through the city, and through these gardens, and among these gardens there are many cotton plantations and melon grounds, and the melons of this land are good and plentiful, at Christmas time there is a wonderful quantity of melons and grapes. Every day so many camels come in laden with melons, that it is a wonder how the people can eat them all. They preserve them from year to year in the villages, in the same way as figs, taking off their skins, cutting them in large slices, and then drying them in the sun.

Outside the city there are great plains, which are covered with populous villages, peopled by the captives which the lord caused to be taken from the countries which he conquered. The land is very plentiful in all things, as well bread as wine, fruit, meat, and birds, and the sheep are very large, and have long tails, some weighing twenty pounds, and they are as much as a man can hold in his hand. These sheep are so abundant in the market that, even when the lord was there with all his host, a pair was worth only a ducat. Other things are so plentiful, that for a *meri*, which is half a rial, they sell a *fanega* and a half of barley, and the quantity of bread and rice is infinite.

The city is so large, and so abundantly supplied, that it is wonderful; and the name of Samarcand or Cimes-quinte is derived from the two words *cimes* great, and *quinte* a town. The supplies of this city do not consist of food alone, but of silks, satins, gauzes, tafetas, velvets, and other things. The lord had so strong a desire to ennoble this city, that he brought captives to increase its population, from every land which he conquered, especially all those who were skilful in any art. From Damascus he brought weavers of silk, and men who made bows, glass, and earthenware, so that, of those articles, Samarcand produces the best in the world. From Turkey he brought archers, masons, and silversmiths. He also brought men skilled in making engines of war, and he sowed hemp and flax, which had never before been seen in the land.

There was so great a number of people brought to this city from all parts, both men and women, that they are said to have amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand persons, of many nations, Turks, Arabs, and Moors, Christian Armenians, Greek Catholics, and Jacobites, and those who baptize with fire in the face, who are Christians with peculiar opinions. There was such a multitude of these people that the city was not large enough to hold them, and it was wonderful what a number lived under trees, and in caves outside.

The city is also very rich in merchandize which comes from other parts. Russia and Tartary send linen and skins; China sends silks, which are the best in the world, (more especially the satins), and musk, which is found in no other part of the world, rubies and diamonds, pearls and rhubarb, and many other things. The merchandize which comes from China is the best and most precious which comes to this city, and they say that the

people of China are the most skilful workmen in the world. They say themselves that they have two eyes, the Franks one, and that the Moors are blind, so that they have the advantage of every other nation in the world. From India come spices, such as nutmegs, cloves, mace, cinnamon, ginger, and many others which do not reach Alexandria.

In the city there are many open places in which they sell meat cooked in many ways, fowls and other birds very nicely dressed, and they are always selling, day and night, in these places. There are also many places for killing meat, fowls, pheasants, and partridges. At one end of the city there is a castle, which is defended on one side by a stream flowing through a deep ravine, and is very strong. The lord kept his treasure in that castle, and no man entered it except the magistrate and his officers. In this castle the lord had as many as a thousand captives, who were skilful workmen, and laboured all the year round at making head pieces, and bows and arrows."

We conclude with an architectural achievement of Timur, thoroughly characteristic of the man:—

"In this city of Samarcand there is much merchandize, which comes every year from Cathay, India, Tartary, and many other parts, and as there is not a place for the orderly and regular display of the merchandize for sale, the lord ordered that a street should be made in the city, with shops for the sale of merchandize. This street was commenced at one end of the city, and went through to the other. He entrusted this work to two of his Meerzas, and let them know that if they did not use all diligence to complete it, working day and night, their heads should answer for it. These Meerzas began to work, by pulling down such houses as stood in the line by which the lord desired the street to run, and as the houses came down, their masters fled with their clothes and all they had. Then, as the houses came down in front, the work went on behind. They made the street very broad, and covered it with a vaulted roof, having windows at intervals to let in the light.

As soon as the shops were finished, people were made to occupy them, and sell their goods, and at intervals in this street there were fountains. A great number of workmen came into the city, and those who worked in the daytime, were relieved by others who worked all night. Some pulled down houses, others levelled the ground, and others built the street, and day and night they made such a noise, that they seemed to be like so many devils.

This great work was finished in twenty days, which was very wonderful. The owners of the houses which were pulled down went to certain Cayris, who were friends of the lord, and one day, when they were playing at chess with the lord, they said that, as he had caused those houses to be destroyed, he ought to make some amends to the owners. Upon this he got into a rage, and said, "This city is mine, and I bought it with my money, and possess the letters for it, which I will show you to-morrow, and, if it is right, I will pay the people, as you desire." When he had spoken, the Cayris were afraid, and they were surprised that he did not order them to be killed, or punished for having thus spoken; and they replied that all that the lord did was right, and that all his commands ought to be obeyed."

We need not wonder that Samarcand is now said to be filled with ruins.

* We must now part with our grave and pleasant companion Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, and bring this somewhat gossiping article to a close. Clavijo's faults are obvious; over credulity and over reticence; for he permits himself no remarks or reflections on the characters or actions of those whom he meets, and says not a word of the objects or success of his embassy. But every line of his own bears the impress of carefully sought strict veracity; and as a picture of Central Asia in the beginning of the 15th century, accurate, lifelike, and full of strange and novel incident, it is invaluable. It furnishes also valuable contemporary materials for our proposed sketch of the life and conquests of Timur, and of the Kipchak, Jete, Indian, Persian and Turkish empires, which he overthrew. So we hope to meet the ambassador again, assured that he will do us good service. It only remains to add that Clavijo left Samarcand on the 21st November 1404, three months before Timur's death; and, after many perils, (for all went to ruin as soon as Timur died,) came safely back to the Court of King Henry on the 24th of March 1406. He died at Madrid April 2nd, 1412.

ART. VI.—*General Report of the Commissioners for the Improvement of the Town of Calcutta for the Year 1859. Calcutta. Military Orphan Press. 1860.*

THE Right Hon'ble James Wilson, among various financial measures, brought forward a bill imposing a duty on personal incomes. Though the bill has undergone considerable modifications from what it was in its original state, still its object is, to levy a duty of three per cent. on all incomes above two hundred Rupees per annum, and where such annual income reaches a sum of Rupees five hundred and upwards, an additional duty of one per cent. will be charged. The modifications since introduced chiefly refer to military officers holding a rank below that of a Captain, and to Zemindars, whose estimated annual income is to be computed upon a more liberal principle. As our readers are aware, the revenue expected to be derived from the 3 per cent. duty, is to be applied towards the exigencies of the State, whilst the net proceeds of the one per cent. duty is to be appropriated towards imperial reproductive works.

It does not come within our province to express an opinion on the merits of the bill itself, beyond our firm conviction that it is a measure fully justified by a due consideration of our financial position, and to which no one can object who has the real welfare of this country and the prosperity of its inhabitants seriously at heart. Our object is rather to dwell upon the additional resources, which the one per cent. duty may make available for such a city as Calcutta, and the manner in which such might be expended with real and lasting advantages to the residents of this Metropolis and to trade in general. Before entering more fully into the subject, it may not be amiss to take a glance at the present condition of the city of Palaces.

It cannot be denied, and we are grieved to say so, that among all the large cities of Europe and America, there is perhaps none that has so little kept pace with those Metropolitan and other local improvements which, wherever introduced, have proved of incalculable benefit, as the British Metropolis in the East. Considering that it has now been in our possession for more than a century and a half, Calcutta, with regard to internal and external improvements, is actually half a century behind the spirit and requirements of the age. Whilst Constantinople, Alexandria, Cairo, and other cities under Mahomedan rulers are gradually assuming the character of modern European

towns, the city of Palaces, the seat of a Christian Government, forms an exception to the general advance of civilization. The native part of the town, with trifling exceptions, retains its primitive oriental character, with the usual appurtenances of narrow filthy streets and crooked lanes; whilst the European quarter has been forced into existence by the removal of the former monopoly of trade, but totally regardless of any considerations for the health and real comfort of its residents; and yet, if we consider the political, financial and commercial importance of this city, it must be obvious that it ought to be in the interest of all parties, the governing and the governed, to metamorphose Calcutta as rapidly as possible into a town, which through the amelioration of its sanitary condition, would render the health and life of European settlers more secure, and by the introduction of measures for facilitating commerce be the most infallible means of largely developing not only the trade of the city, but that of Bengal, the city of Palaces being the great export and import mart of this Province.

The fault of this anomaly, is, as usual, ascribed to Government. Private enterprise can hardly be said to exist in India, and in the absence of such, Government is expected to do everything. The statistical records of the town fully corroborate our assertion. We have a number of public buildings such as the Town Hall, the Fever Hospital, the Native Girl's School, the Free Church Institution, the Ice House, the Benevolent Institution, and Metcalfe Hall, but none of them owe their existence to private enterprise; they have been erected entirely upon the strength of private contributions; and nine-tenths of the capital required for their construction have been either subscribed for by Europeans, or directly or indirectly contributed by Government. Yet however desirable all these institutions may be for the spiritual and temporal wants of the Christian community, it is clear that none of them bears the least reference to those requirements of the town, which by conducing to the extension of commerce and the spread of general prosperity, would ensure large contributions on the part of an European floating population, towards objects of public utility.

The only building in the town, which can be classed in the category of private enterprise, is the Bonded Warehouse. A reference to the list of original shareholders, shows that the promoters of the undertaking were, with trifling exceptions, European merchants. The Martiniere is the legacy of a philanthropic Frenchman; and thus almost every public building in Calcutta, owes its origin to European capital, voluntarily subscribed for, and contributed to by Government. The natives

have done absolutely nothing for their own city, and indeed the very few improvements which have taken place of late, though hardly worth mentioning, are the result of compulsory laws rather than of voluntary undertakings.

But in order to form a correct view of the matter, we must take into due consideration the relative position of Europeans and natives. The object of the former in coming out to India, is to toil hard and devote all his bodily and mental energies, at the risk of life and at the almost certain sacrifice of constitution, towards the realization of a competency, which will enable him eventually to retire to his mother country. He cannot therefore, in the ordinary course of nature, be expected to take any very lively interest in undertakings, which can only be carried out by a subsequent generation, and from which therefore he individually would derive no benefits. His primary object is to be off as soon as he can, and he must therefore, to use a common phrase, look twice at a Rupee before parting with it. Times moreover have wonderfully changed. The climate is no longer the great bugbear which deterred Europeans from coming to India; colossal fortunes are not so easily realised now-a-days; competition is powerful in all trades and professions; the overland communication and telegraph have brought us within short reach of the mother country, and tend to keep up that lively recollection of the Home of our youth, which proves a powerful stimulant to that exertion and economy, which alone can secure the prospect of early retirement from the scene of our labours. With such views and prospects, it is but natural, that the temporary European resident in India must feel reluctant to contribute towards prospective improvements, which hold out no hopes of any return whatever to himself.

It is very different with natives. They are the permanent residents of the town, and therefore either themselves or their children are sure to benefit by works of public utility; and yet may we ask what have they done within the last 25 years towards the attainment of such objects? Nothing,—absolutely nothing. Even those institutions, which have been established for the special benefit of the native youth, have been created by donations on the part of Government and by private subscriptions, the latter of which have in a great measure been contributed by Europeans. Witness the Medical College, the Mud-rissa, the Hindoo College, that most excellent institution, the Chandney Choke Hospital with all its branches, the Medical College Hospital, and Mr. Bethune's Native Girls' School. It is true that magnificent donations towards these objects have been made by the late Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore, and Rajah Per-

taub Chund Sing, but these form solitary exceptions, and we may ask, what do the wealthy natives of this city now contribute towards the maintenance of all those excellent institutions? —Nothing.

There is a singular aversion on the part of native capitalists to embark in any enterprise which does not yield an immediate return; hence, whatever is undertaken, owes its origin to European capital. The Strand steam flour mills, the Fort Gloster Cotton Mills, the Dockyards and several other establishments of that description, are the results of European enterprise and capital, and no greater proof can be adduced of the total absence of anything approaching a disposition to encourage public undertakings from which the town or the country may derive the greatest benefits, than the Railways now in course of construction, the whole capital for which, with trifling exceptions, has been subscribed for at home and by Europeans in this country.

The reasons for this particular aversion to invest money in great undertakings are twofold. There is no doubt that past experience has taught the necessity of caution. Schemes were brought forward which, to use a mild term, bore the stamp of eccentricity upon the very face of their program; speculations on a gigantic scale were undertaken entirely with the aid of native capital, borrowed at a high rate of interest, but resulting in loss to both the lender and the borrower; and when at last a Joint Stock Company was got up which held out any prospect of a fair return to the shareholder, and *did* yield handsome profits, it was brought to a stand still through mere mismanagement, entailing ruin upon many a poor widow and orphan. We do not hesitate in stating that our remarks refer to the late Union Bank of Calcutta, though we believe, that on the whole, Europeans have suffered by it to a much larger extent than natives.

Yet it is somewhat remarkable, that the history of the past affords an undeniable proof of natives always breaking down, when attempting to carry out any undertaking of public benefit, unless aided by European management. One case will be sufficient to prove the correctness of this assertion. Some years ago, a vigorous attempt was made to establish a Metropolitan College. The scheme originated with some wealthy natives, and lacked not for support, but it required unanimity of purpose. That unanimity however could not be attained, and after its chief promoters spent nearly two lakhs of Rupees towards the realization of the object in view, the whole fell to the ground. This was the result of purely native management. The jealousy which exists between different classes will always prevent

that cordial and disinterested support, which is so essential in carrying out any undertaking of public utility, and hence it will for some time to come, be very difficult to impress upon the native mind the necessity of that unity of action, and unity of purpose, without which, notwithstanding all the means that may be available, all projects must invariably break down.

In thus recording our views about the absence of public enterprise on the part of the natives, we wish to be understood, that our remarks apply to them as a nation. There is no doubt, that there are several men among the more enlightened classes quite capable and ready to form more liberal views, and indeed we could name several native gentlemen, whose ideas are the most liberal that could possibly be conceived, yet their number is too small to overreach the opposition of the orthodox party, who, under the influence of traditionary customs, which form the groundwork of their moral and social laws and are carefully nursed by their priestcraft, present a most formidable obstacle to the clear perception of the advantages, which must result from well directed enterprise. It therefore follows, that the ideas of wealthy natives about undertakings of public utility are generally confined to the construction of ghats and temples and the excavation of tanks, and the large number of the two former, which line the Hooghly river up to the Ganges, most of which have been constructed at the expense of private individuals, will give an idea of the immense amount of money which has been expended for those purposes. Charity is one of the great precepts of Hindooism, but its real meaning is not understood. A wealthy native would not hesitate a moment to give Rupees 10,000 for the construction of a ghat, or the excavation of a tank, because he can understand that to enable the poorer classes to perform their ablutions in the sacred river, or to place water for domestic purposes within their reach, is a benefit to his countrymen; but he would be reluctant to contribute a farthing towards the cutting of a navigable canal, or the construction of a railroad, because it is beyond his conception that such auxiliaries of trade and communication are the surest promoters of general prosperity.

We have endeavoured to show the obstacles which exist, and which prevent both Europeans and Natives from taking a personal interest in works of public utility; and we strongly apprehend that such will continue, until the European settlers will find it their interest to make India their permanent home, or until their greater influx and the diffusion of education among the natives will lead to a clear perception and appreciation of the advantages and benefits of public works, which, though perhaps not

yielding an immediate pecuniary return, open a new field of enterprise, and place within the reach of our successors, if not within our own, resources, the development of which is the high-road to prosperity. India is only in her infancy; and Calcutta, the great emporium of her trade, must strive hard to give every impulse to such trade; in fact, Calcutta ought to be to the East, what London is with regard to the commerce of the world.

It is therefore clear, that we ought to strive hard to work in anticipation of the events which cast their shadows before us. It is also nothing but just, that where no private aid or co-operation can be expected, the residents of the town should be made to contribute towards its requirements, whether such be of immediate or prospective benefit. This principle seems to have been recognised by the Legislature when passing the Municipal acts which came into force on the 1st of January 1857. The inhabitants were made to pay a lighting rate for the purpose of introducing a better system of illuminating the town by gas and by oil, long before a single gas post or bracket could be indented for from England. The House assessment rate was increased from $6\frac{1}{4}$ to $7\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. for the avowed object of devoting thereof an annual sum of Rs. 150,000 – and Rs. 30,000 respectively towards a new system of drainage and sewerage of the town, and for a supply of water. Two years and a half had elapsed before any system of drainage and sewerage could be decided upon, and though it will take many years before the whole of the works can be completed, yet the present residents are made to contribute towards their cost. The question of water supply is still far from its solution, but it must eventually be carried out. The same principle appears to have been acted upon by the Right Honourable James Wilson in imposing an income duty of one per cent. specially applicable to Public Works. Whatever his plans may be, it is clear that the residents will have to pay for prospective improvements, which can only be worked out in the course of time; and it is evident that Mr. Wilson is not only fully aware of the many improvements of which our cities in the East are susceptible, but moreover that he is alive to the importance of carrying them into effect.

With a prospective annual income derivable from the one per cent. duty, the question arises about the most advantageous manner in which such might be appropriated towards the improvement of this Metropolis, and we believe that we are acting in the interests of our fellow citizens when we point out several improvements of which the town is in absolute need, but which the Municipal Commissioners have hitherto been unable to

carry out, because the conservancy of the town, as well as the current expenditure for road repairs, &c. absorb so large a portion of the general income, that they are precluded from undertaking any improvement which would prove of great and permanent public utility. It is true that since the passing of acts XIV., XXV. and XXVIII. of 1856, the municipal revenue has increased by fully three lakhs of Rupees, but at the same time it must be considered, that out of such increase not less than Rs. 1,20,000 are specially appropriated towards the illumination of the town by gas and by oil; that Rs. 1,50,000 have annually to be set aside for the new drainage works; that Rs. 30,000 are to be devoted towards a more diffused supply of water; so that in fact, notwithstanding the increased rate of House-assessment, the imposition of the lighting rate and of the carriage and house tax, the actual municipal income available for conservancy purposes and local improvements, remains pretty much the same as it was before the passing of the Municipal acts above adverted to; and indeed, were it not for a total revision of the valuation and assessment of the town, which Mr. Vos is so successfully carrying out, we doubt whether the Commissioners would have been in a position to meet the increased rate for stone, khoa, cattle, provender, and general wages and labour. Mr. Wilson's one per cent. duty comes therefore like a regular "godsend," and we are desirous to see it applied towards purposes which will benefit every class of residents in this Metropolis.

It appears to us, that in correctly estimating the requirements of a city, the same must be regarded in three distinct points of view, viz., sanitary, commercial, and political. In the Presidencies moreover, which form the three great ports of British India, due consideration must be given to the mixed character of the population, and therefore the interests of Europeans and natives ought to be weighed separately. To fuse both into one category is absolutely impossible. In a sanitary point they will never be identical;—in commerce and trade European enterprise and capital will maintain their supremacy;—in politics, the lead must be retained by Government, for we are yet far behind that stage of enlightenment, which would allow, with safety to the state and with due regard for the interests of the country, natives to take an active part in the management of the affairs of this Empire. On the basis of such views we shall now proceed to notice the principal requirements of the Metropolis of the East.

SANITARY.

Free ventilation, cleanliness of streets and lanes, and an am-

the supply of water, are everywhere considered the principal elements of public health;—in Eastern towns they are the elements of life. The drainage works now in progress, and the contemplated water supply, which *must* follow, will tend towards the attainment of two of the aforementioned requirements, but the third, or rather the first, viz. free ventilation can only be effected in the process of time. To comprehend the claims of the town in this latter respect, the Southern or European and the Northern or Native Divisions of the city must be considered separately.

As far as the European quarter is concerned, it may be said that the whole portion of it, which extends from along Park-street to the Southern boundary of the town, enjoys already free ventilation, and the only further improvement of any importance of which it is susceptible is the clearance of a number of bustees or plots of ground covered by clusters of native huts, and inhabited by people who apparently delight in filth and dirt. The clearance of such bustees will have the effect of removing a number of miserable huts and their inhabitants, from the localities through which they are dispersed all over Chowringhee, and thus not only be the means of purifying the quarter, but also afford numerous building sites for private residences, and thereby render that portion of the Town strictly European. The Municipal Commissioners have already made a commencement, and from their report it appears, that the clearance of these bustees has been effected by them at a mere nominal cost.

From Park street towards Lall Bazar, which forms the boundary between the Southern and Northern Division, the character of the Town gradually changes. The stable three-storied buildings with spacious verandahs and large compounds disappear by degrees, and smaller buildings, on narrow plots of ground and in greater proximity to each other line the streets, until at last they form an almost uninterrupted range of all description of houses and huts, inhabited by a mixed Christian and native population. Still they are intersected by a number of wide streets and lanes, which would afford ample means of ventilation could the native portion of the residents be induced to adopt habits of cleanliness. There are a number of clusters of huts dispersed over that particular area of ground, the inmates of which are totally indifferent to any extent of accumulation of filth, and indeed were it not for the fines which the Police authorities constantly levy upon those who neglect to conform to municipal regulations, many a lane would scarcely be passable. Still many of these clusters of huts are not accessible to conservancy carts, and hence they become nuisances, creating malaria

and sickness. We are happy to hear, that arrangements are now in progress, by which these evils will shortly be remedied.

It is however in the native part of the town, where ventilation can hardly be said to exist. If it be considered that the whole area of the Northern Division extends over 7,619 beegahs of ground; that a portion of it is taken up by Hindoo temples, public and private tanks, and numberless lanes of the narrowest dimensions; and that within the remainder 9,823 masonry buildings and 41,917 huts are huddled together, it will be easily conceived that much ventilation cannot exist there. It is true the majority of the residents seem to care very little about free ventilation and pure air, but that is no sufficient reason why improvements should not be carried out, by which a large number of fellow creatures will most undoubtedly benefit, though at present they may not be able to appreciate the real value of such improvements.

A glance at the map of Calcutta will show that we are not exaggerating the evils complained of. Though the Northern division extending from the line of Bow Bazar and Lall Bazar Streets to the Chitpore canal covers an area of more than double that occupied by the Southern division, there are actually only two great thoroughfares in it, besides the Circular Road, which forms its Eastern boundary. One of these thoroughfares, —Chitpore road— is the principal channel for the traffic in goods and passengers. It is narrow, irregular, and may be said to be the emporium of dirt and filth. The other is Cornwallis street, running in a straight line from Bow Bazar to the Chitpore canal, and traversing the Eastern portion of the native town. It is a wide road, tolerably clean, but comparatively made little use of for traffic, being at a somewhat inconvenient distance. There is a third wide street, viz. Amherst street, but it extends only one-half the length of the Northern division, namely from Bow Bazar to Rajah Gooroodass' street.

It is not less surprising, that the above thoroughfares, though extending on a length of nearly three miles, are traversed from East to West by only two straight avenues, namely Colootollah and Machooa Bazar streets. The rest is intersected by a number of narrow irregular streets, and crooked lanes, many of the latter being hardly passable for even native vehicles, and some of them scarcely accessible to conservancy carts. To this must be added the fact, that within the whole of the Northern division there are only two public squares, and by a singular coincidence, both are situated along the same line of road. They are in Cornwallis and College streets, the former being only a continuation of the latter. Each of these squares contains a

large tank, which forms the principal means of water supply to the residents of the neighbourhood. There is a large number of smaller tanks scattered all over the Native division, but chiefly belonging to private individuals, and although thrown open to the public, they afford but a scanty supply, and even that not of pure water. Reviewing then the condition of the Native town, we find that there is an immense mass of buildings and huts packed together as closely as possible; that there are only two leading thoroughfares traversed by two avenues; that there are only two public squares; and that for the wants of the residents only two large public tanks are available. But to understand the real magnitude of the evil, it is necessary to consider the singular notions, which the generality of natives entertain about cleanliness, pure air, and free ventilation. Chitpore road will afford a sufficient criterion thereof. Considering that it is the leading thoroughfare of the native town from North to South, and that many highly respectable Hindoos and Mussulmen reside in it, one would suppose, that the practice of people bathing in the open street, of cleansing their cooking utensils alongside the aqueduct, and of washing clothes, horses and carriages in the open road, would call forth loud and strong remonstrances; but such is not the case. There are several stately edifices in that road, which have to their South large private drains, wafting an almost unbearable stench into all the other dwellings within immediate reach, and yet there is not a single voice of complaint. There are also a large number of native livery stable keepers, whose establishments line the greater portion of Chitpore road from Lall Bazar to Colootollah Street. From thence there is an almost uninterrupted succession of sweetmeats, bakers, shoemakers, bookbinders and other trades, which do not add to the salubrity of the street. The effluvia of these stables and shops running into the public drains, and the filth deposited on the street, are as much beyond conception as they appear to be beyond the control of the conservancy department; and yet in spite of all the stench and malaria created thereby, it will be seen, that the servants attached to these identical livery stables and to several of the shops, place their charpoys or beds right across the drain, through which the offensive effluvia is expected to pass. We use the word "*expected*" advisedly, because however defective the public drains may be, their action is often impeded by the practice of throwing filth into them. That this sort of nuisance is more extensive than at first sight may appear, is proved by para. 108 of the Municipal Commissioners' Report of Calcutta for the past year, in which it is stated that not less than *six hundred and twenty-nine* persons were convicted of and fined for the above offences.

Alarming as those evils may be, their effect upon the health of the residents of the native town and their extent, will be better understood, when we say that Chitpore road is a mere miniature of the state of less frequented streets and lanes. The Municipal Commissioners in the report for 1859, tell us that 13,942 natives had died within the precincts of the jurisdiction of the town, and we regret that we have not the means of ascertaining how many of these have fallen victims to diseases created by the filthy condition, to which the native part of the town is reduced. It would be unfair to lay the blame for such a state of things upon the Commissioners, for whilst they candidly admit the existence of the evil, they plead poverty, and they show beyond doubt, that the least improvement in that quarter of the town, cannot be carried out for less than half a lakh of Rupees. Mr. Wilson's one per cent. duty comes therefore most à propos, and before its ultimate appropriation is decided upon, we may fairly urge the claims of the native division of the town to a fair share of it.

We have in a previous para. stated, that free ventilation, cleanliness of streets and an ample supply of water constitute the elements of life in an Eastern city. Let us now consider, how they can be effected at the lowest possible cost. As cleansing of streets falls strictly within the legitimate duties of the conservancy department, and must be attended to even at the sacrifice of public improvements, we have only to deal with the other two items, for which the present means of the Municipality are decidedly inadequate, and we shall treat them under separate heads.

It is clear that the surest, and in fact the only means of securing to the Native Town proper ventilation, is, to construct a number of public squares, and to open new and widen existing thoroughfares. This course however is in Calcutta attended with much greater difficulties, than our readers may be aware of. By a singular omission in the provisions of Act XIV. of 1856, generally known as the Municipal Act, the Commissioners have not the power to *force* the sale of any property which it might be necessary to remove in order to allow of the construction of a public square; in fact their power seems to be limited to the mere making of new streets, widening, enlarging and improving existing ones, provided that "compensation be made to the owners for any damage which may be done thereby to any adjoining land or buildings of such owner," the extent of compensation to which such owners may be entitled being determined by arbitration. The Commissioners in their report of the year 1857 have shown the heavy expense which this cir-

cumlocutory legislation involves. The value of a parcel of ground and the dwelling standing thereupon, which stood in the way of completing a new thoroughfare, was settled by arbitration at Rs. 5,000. The cost of such arbitration together with the legal expenses incurred, amounted to Rs. 7,000, and a similar result may be expected, where no principle is laid down for ascertaining the exact value of property. The natives complain about the high valuation put upon buildings in the native part of the town, and yet if any such building were required for public purposes, and had to be bought up, not one of the owners would be willing to receive for it the price of it computed upon the strength of the rate at which it is assessed, and yet, we conceive that such would be the only fair means of ascertaining its real value.

But leaving these difficulties alone, there are other obstacles in the way. In constructing public squares in European cities, the result invariably is a considerable increase in the value of all property within their immediate vicinity, because people can fully understand the advantages thereby obtained. Not so in India, unless it be in the European quarter of the town, where upon the strength of such improvement, the rent will immediately be raised 50 per cent. Dunkin Bustee and Camac Street afford undoubted proof of our assertion. Natives, as far as their own comfort is concerned, are totally indifferent in that respect, and we are able to quote a case in point. About two years ago, a native gentleman of high respectability proposed to the Municipal Commissioners the opening of a new square and the construction of a tank, offering to contribute towards its cost the sum of Rs. 20,000, and to take all the spare ground that may be available at a fair price. The expense of this undertaking was estimated at Rs. 130,000—and the Commissioners at once agreed to contribute towards such desirable improvement Rs. 30,000, provided the residents of the immediate neighbourhood, who would so largely benefit thereby, were willing to subscribe the remaining sum. The proposal, as might be expected, fell to the ground, the residents feeling too reluctant to part with a single Rupee. It is therefore clear, that in opening a new square, no help whatever can be expected from those who derive immediate benefit therefrom, and the whole cost must be borne by the town itself.

Considering the proximity in which native houses are built, the value which the residents put upon family dwellings, and the peculiar provisions of the law under which the property must be purchased, it is very evident, that the opening of a square in such parts of the native town where not only masonry buildings

must be purchased, but the ground itself bears a very high value, is next to impossible; not even the prospective resources of the Municipality could effect such an improvement. But there are other localities within the Northern division, where this great desideratum might be carried out at a reasonable cost. There are a large number of bustees or clusters of huts dispersed all over the native town, and their clearance would at once enable us to realize the object in view, and at a moderate outlay.

Bustees are generally large spots of grounds, belonging to a particular individual, and let out in small portions to the poorest class of the native community. The tenants build their own huts, and pay only ground rent to the owner of the locality. The particular spot on which the hut is erected, is generally taken on a lease of twelve months, at the expiration of which the lease may be renewed, or the tenant is at liberty to remove his hut, provided he has paid the ground rent due by him. In the majority of cases the tenant is in arrears, and his miserable hut is forfeited to the landowner. No difficulty ought to exist in clearing such bustees for the special purpose of opening new squares, and it is in such localities where the much needed improvements might be carried out at a very moderate expense. The value of the land is easily computed by the return it yields; there are no masonry buildings to be purchased by arbitration, and no compensation could be claimed for losses of rent, because the owner of the ground indemnifies himself by the seizure of the huts, which, being removeable, must represent a certain value. The obvious plan therefore is, to purchase one of the largest bustees, and after clearing it from all the huts thereon form it into a square, leaving sufficient spare ground on each side, which might be resold for the express purpose of building masonry houses, shops, &c. Thus in a few years a return would be obtained in the shape of assessment rate, sufficient to keep the square and its roads in good condition. On a rough calculation we find that a moderately sized square might be opened at an outlay of about Rs. 50,000.

With regard to opening new, or widening existing streets the expense would be very heavy. When Government lately appointed a Committee to take into consideration the practicability and cost of laying down a tramway from the contemplated Sealdah Railway termini to the Calcutta Custom house, three distinct lines were under consideration. The first consisted in opening a new narrow street through a number of clusters of huts, and its cost was estimated at Rupees 2,68,507. The second involved the partial widening of Colootollah and Parsee Church streets, and thence opening a new thoroughfare to Jackson's

Ghat street, thereby forming a straight direct line from Sealdah to the river bank. The estimated expense such an undertaking would involve, amounted to Rs. 8,15,333. The third proposal was to widen Bow Bazar by 20 feet for its whole length, the cost of which was calculated at Rs. 4,85,888. It will thus be seen that the very cheapest improvement, and which after all would only be of a sufficient width to allow of the construction of a tramway, would absorb Rs. 2,68,507, being more than the total annual income derived from the house assessment rate of the Northern division. Still, squares must be opened, streets must be widened, and as the current Municipal income will not allow of such improvements, the inhabitants of the Northern Division have a fair right to expect, that at all events a portion of the revenue derived from Mr. Wilson's one per cent. duty will be appropriated towards these desirable objects.

The next point to which we would draw attention, is the state of our public roads. They are getting worse from year to year; but from what the Municipal Commissioners state in their annual report for the past year, it would appear, that we are only on the eve of a greater evil to come. They plead two very strong reasons for this unsatisfactory state of things, viz. inadequacy of funds, and scarcity of stone metal. On the strength of the explanations given by the Commissioners we admit the validity of both reasons. The increased price of kholah, and the enhanced rate charged for stone broken at the House of Correction, together with the general rise in the cost of labour, tell most seriously, where only a fixed annual sum can be devoted to a particular purpose. It is clear that in proportion as the cost of road-making material increases, the extent of roads made or repaired must fall equally short, because there is only a fixed sum available for such purpose and no more. In addition to this, scarcity of stone metal is complained of. The importation of stone ballast from China has ceased altogether; from Mauritius it has fallen off by one-half, whilst the demand for the suburban roads, and from provincial municipalities along the river have caused a considerable encroachment upon the supply to which the town was primarily entitled. Moreover a considerable quantity of stone metal will be required to restore the roads, which at present are unmercifully cut up in connection with the new drainage works in progress. But the town ought not to suffer on that account, and stone must be procured any how, whether an adequate supply be obtained from some rock in the Mofussil within reach of conveyance by water, or whether it be secured by holding out inducements to importers from abroad, is a secondary consideration; but we maintain that if the

Municipal funds cannot bear the additional burthen, we may fairly look for support to the revenue derived from the one per cent. duty.

We now come to the most important requirement of the town—an ample and diffused system of water supply. Its necessity is recognized by the Legislature itself, which by section 29 of Act XXVIII. of 1856 enjoins the Municipal Commissioners to set apart an annual sum of not less than Rupees 30,000—for the special object of repaying with interest, all monies that might be borrowed upon the security of the town rates for the purpose of carrying out works which will secure to the town a proper supply of good and wholesome water for drinking and domestic purposes. That the Legislature had no conception of the real requirements of the town in that respect, is evident from the fact that they limit the annual sum to be set apart to Rs. 30,000—which at a rate of interest of five per cent., would only represent a capital of five lakhs of Rupees, without having a sinking fund to provide for its ultimate liquidation. This is the more surprising, as at that time three distinct schemes of supplying the town with water were before the public, the cheapest of which involved an outlay of Rs. 14,00,000—whilst at the same time an attempt to construct a public tank in the Northern Division fell to the ground, because it was found that it could not be carried out for less than Rs. 1,50,000.

Since Act XXVIII. of 1856 came into force, additional grounds have been shown for the necessity of an ample and diffused supply of water. The Committee appointed by Government to enquire and report upon Mr. Clark's scheme of drainage and sewerage of the town, in para. II. of section XII. of their report record their unanimous opinion, that "they consider a 'copious and diffused water supply over the city to be absolutely essential to its efficient drainage.'" Messrs. Rendel, to whom the Drainage Committee's report was referred for their opinion remark, that "to construct sewers without at the same time providing an ample supply of water to keep them clear of deposits, 'would be a worse than useless expenditure of money.'" Mr. Clark, the Engineer to the Municipal Commissioners expresses himself as follows: "To expect the efficient action of sewers 'without water-flush, would, to use a vulgar parlance, be like 'putting shot into a gun without powder; but at the same time 'I am of opinion, that a supply of pure and wholesome water 'would yield a certain annual return on the part of those who 'choose to avail themselves of it, whilst water pumped up from 'the river for the mere purpose of providing flush for the sewers 'will be a permanent charge upon the Municipal funds.'" The

actual necessity of water supply is thus admitted on all hands, and it only remains to ascertain the *quality* of water, which may be required to answer all and every purpose. To enable us to arrive at a proper conclusion, it is necessary to review first the existing means of water supply.

On examination we find, that at present, the supply is obtained from three different sources, viz., the river, tanks, and aqueducts. In the Northern division, the first is resorted to entirely by natives within its vicinity, and by such of the better classes of Hindoos, as can afford to pay for the cost of having the sacred river water carried to their houses. Tanks are availed of by a large portion of the native population living at some distance from the river, whilst open aqueducts afford a supply to such as care very little about quality of water. Some of the tanks are filled from the river by means of aqueducts, but the majority depend for their supply upon the periodical rains, and upon the water which, during occasional showers, runs into them from the surface drains of the town. It is therefore clear that many of the tanks which are depending upon the rains, become during the hot season almost dry, and it is at that time more particularly that the native population experience great hardship.

In the European quarter the supply of water is almost entirely obtained from tanks, some of which are filled from the river, but the majority being dependent upon the periodical rains. Though there are a number of aqueducts, no European uses their water knowingly, because all the vigilance of the police cannot prevent natives from fouling the water, by washing in it clothes and cooking utensils. Even tanks do not escape contamination; and indeed if it were possible to put a complete stop to the practice of bathing in them, the fact of the bheesties or water carriers steeping their feet into the water whilst filling their leather bags, is not likely to add to its purity. Comparing then the existing means of water supply available in each Division, we find that whilst the southern has an abundant supply of comparatively wholesome water, the Northern or Native division is labouring under a double disadvantage, viz. scarcity of supply—and of such supply consisting of water, the greater portion of which, Europeans would consider unfit for drinking purposes.

As already stated a different supply of water will become absolutely necessary in connection with the drainage works now in progress, and therefore we have to consider what system of supply will be best adapted to the general requirements of the town with due regard for the various interests involved in it. It is clear, that, as far as the drainage is concerned, it is perfectly im-

material whether the water which is to flush the drains, be pure or impure, salt or sweet. In reference to natives, their opinion of pure water totally differs from ours. Water from the river, which swarms with dead bodies, in which thousands perform their daily ablutions, into which a portion of the filth of the town either flows or is emptied, is, according to their views, not considered objectionable. Again, water conveyed into tanks by aqueducts, in which a number of people wash their clothes, cleanse their cooking utensils, and not unfrequently bathe, is apparently considered fit for every domestic and even for drinking purposes; but if the same water were conveyed into tanks by means of a leather hose, it would remain untouched, because such means of conveying water is looked upon as opposed to the religious notions of the people. Men and women will not hesitate for a moment to allow persons afflicted with contagious diseases to bathe in the same tank with them, and yet a dog swimming across the tank would be considered a contamination of the water. True, it is only the low class of natives which exhibit such peculiar indifference as to the quality of water, but they form the majority; and what guarantee have the better classes for their own domestic servants not supplying them with water from such contaminated tanks? The European on the other hand puts a value on pure and wholesome water, being entirely indifferent as to the manner in which it can be brought within his reach.

We have thus four distinct claims upon a supply of water. One, namely the drainage of the town, totally indifferent as to quality; the second consisting of orthodox Hindoos, avowedly partial to river water even of the worst description, as long as it is not distributed by means against religious prejudices; the third satisfied with water of any kind whatsoever, as long as it costs nothing; and the fourth, being Europeans, demanding pure drinking water, but indifferent as to the means by which it is conveyed to their houses. The first three can easily be supplied from the river by pumps worked by steam power, whilst the fourth can only obtain pure and wholesome water through an underground supply, drawn from some locality above the river. The first plan will necessitate the erection of another Steam Engine at Nimtollah Ghat, and the construction of several miles of aqueducts, the cost of which is estimated at Rupees 3,50,000; whilst the expense of the latter mode of water supply can even at this moment hardly be correctly ascertained. Mr. Sim's scheme involved an outlay of 67 lakhs of Rupees; Captain Young and Mr. Hawkesly calculated the cost of their scheme at 16 lakhs; the Drainage Committee's was

12 lakhs, whilst Mr. Rendell's estimate amounted to 28 lakhs of Rupees.

In undertaking works of such magnitude, the outlay they involve must be weighed by the return they yield, either in a pecuniary view, or by the benefits they secure. No private company could engage in the construction of such works, unless a fair return was in prospect for the capital invested; but a Municipality may be perfectly justified in doing so, even at an annual sacrifice, provided it was absolutely necessary for the health and comfort of the inhabitants of the town. Now as far as return is concerned, it could in the first instance only be looked for from Europeans, who, we have no doubt would be willing to pay for pure and wholesome water, but this would amount to a mere fraction; nor could the drainage of the town be charged beyond what it would cost to pump up river water for flushing purposes, whilst no law could make it compulsory upon natives to take and pay for water, which they may be either precluded from using by religious prejudices, or for the purity of which they do not care. It is for these reasons that the imposition of a water rate, is entirely out of question.

From what we have stated, it is evident that water pumped up from the river at low tides, and copiously distributed over the town could answer every requirement of the native division, whilst at the same time it would render a supply of water, though not quite pure, more plentiful in the Southern Division, and therefore we have only to consider the mode in which it is to be distributed. Only two ways of doing so are available, viz. open aqueducts, or underground pipes. The first is congenial to the people themselves, but objectionable on public grounds. Leaving out the question of low natives resorting to them for the purpose of washing clothes, cooking utensils, &c., there can be no doubt, that in the native part of the town they prove considerable obstructions to public thoroughfares. Any body passing through Colootollah or Chitpore road will convince himself of the fact. In these streets bathing along the aqueducts appears to be allowed, for we have never seen the chowkeedars in attendance attempt to prevent people from doing so. The disgusting exposure of persons bathing in open streets would not be tolerated in any other city under a Christian Government; but besides this so much space is taken up by aqueducts and the people bathing and washing along them, as seriously to interfere with the traffic of these identical streets, not to mention the filthy state to which the thoroughfare itself is reduced. An underground water supply, with cisterns at convenient distances, would at once remove all those evils, and certainly prevent the water being constantly fouled as at present.

Assuming then, that a supply of water, distributed as above stated, would meet the general requirements of the town, the cost of carrying it into effect demands our next consideration. It appears that the Municipal Commissioners had it for some time under consideration to make arrangements for relieving the crying wants of the inhabitants of the Northern Division, by erecting another steam engine at Nimtollah Ghat, for pumping up river water and distributing it by means of underground pipes, through Baug Bazar, Cornwallis Street, Sham Bazar, Purria Pooker Street, Chitpore Road, Kombooliatollah Lane, Sukea's Street, Barranossey Ghose's Street and Machooa Bazar Road, which arrangement would have the further advantage of allowing all tanks within reach of the above streets to be filled with water from the river, at the very time, that they generally become almost dry. The expense of this arrangement was estimated at Rupees 1,50,667, exclusive of the cost of the engine, pumps and buildings, and subject to a permanent annual charge upon the town for the working of the engine. Now if it be considered, that in order to ensure real benefits to the inhabitants and to provide for the regular action of the sewers, the supply of water must be ample and diffused all over the town, and moreover that the above named streets form only a small portion of the area over which the supply of water must be spread, it is evident that to carry out the scheme to a really useful extent, the total outlay will not fall short of 12 lakhs of Rupees. This arrangement would answer every requirement of the native population; it will supply the Southern Division with ample water for culinary purposes, it will afford as much flush for the sewers as may be desired, but the outlay will bring no monetary return whatever, and after all not supply to Europeans the great desideratum, viz. pure and wholesome drinking water.

The next thing to consider is, the annual expense which the undertaking if carried out would involve. Taking as our basis the cost of working the Chandpaul Ghat Engine, which during the rains, or say three months out of twelve is stopped, we shall arrive at the following results:

	Rs.
Cost of working the Chandpaul Ghat Engine, ...	10,000
Do. of proposed Engine at Nimtollah Ghat, ...	10,000
Add the time of the rains, three months, ...	6,666
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Actual cost, ...	26,666
Interest on block and stock 12 lakhs at 5 per cent.,	60,000
Wear and tear, repairs, and superintendence 10 per cent., ...	6,000
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Total outlay, ...	92,666

an annual expense, the greater portion of which, according to all authorities that appear to have been consulted on the subject, will have to be incurred, to ensure the efficiency of the drainage works. To meet this permanent charge, we have the following resources:

	Rs.
Set apart under legislative enactment for water supply,	30,000
Present cost of working the Chandpaul Ghat Engine,	10,000
Expense of clearing drains, &c., Rs. 50,000 of which one-half will be saved when the drainage works come into operation,	25,000
Total,	65,000

So that there is an annual deficiency of Rs. 27,666, which will have to be provided for by the Municipality.

It now remains to ascertain what the additional expense would be for supplying the town with pure wholesome drinking water, instead of that which the above outlay would secure. All the schemes that have been laid before the public agree in one point, viz., that the supply must in the first instance be drawn off the river Hooghly at some point near Pultah Ghat, by means of pumping engines, and after passing through subsiding and filtering reservoirs, be conveyed to the suburbs of Calcutta, to be thence distributed by steam power over the city. The estimates of the several schemes vary according to the extent of the distribution of water, but we will, for the sake of calculation, assume the highest average which is 30 lakhs of Rupees. Supposing the above capital being borrowed at a rate of interest of five per cent. per annum, the annual charge to be met would be:—

Interest on 30 lakhs of Rupees at five per cent. Rupees 1,50,000 to which would have to be added the cost of working the Engines and that of Superintendence; against which we have to set off the sum of Rupees 92,666—which will have to be expended annually under any circumstances, and the revenue that may be derived from Europeans willing to pay for pure and wholesome drinking water.

But in addition to this, we have two other sources to look to, which might be made productive of considerable revenue. There is no doubt that without a proper supply of drinking water the contemplated Mutlah town will prove a complete disappointment. The only source whence a supply can be obtained is Calcutta; but such would only give water for culinary purposes, pumped up from the river at low tides. Even such water would, however, have to be paid for, and hence we should thus obtain

another contribution towards the annual outlay, which would prove a valuable aid, and might be the means of carrying out the far more important scheme of procuring drinking water from Pultah. Moreover by a slight change in the plan the native Division would get water free of cost, whilst the Europeans would be supplied with *pure drinking* water at a moderate charge. As already stated the various schemes, which came before the public, agreed in the necessity of drawing the supply of water off the river, at some locality to the North of Chitpoie, and that Pultah seemed to have been considered as the most suitable place. There the water was to be pumped up into settling and filtering reservoirs, whence it would be conveyed to Calcutta, either by pipes or covered aqueducts. Now if the filtering reservoirs were constructed at Calcutta instead of at Pultah, we should then have two distinct kinds of reservoirs, namely settling reservoirs, whence water would be supplied to the Northern Division, and filtering reservoirs, distributing *pure* water to the European quarter of the town. Thus as soon as the native population would be willing to pay for pure water, it could be supplied with it at once, and the time is sure to come when the value of such a commodity will be duly appreciated.

The cost of the works for procuring a supply of water from Pultah and providing for its copious distribution over the town, is estimated at 30 lakhs of Rupees, entailing an annual charge of Rs. 1,20,000 for work and superintendence; and supposing that the money were borrowed at the rate of five per cent. per annum, the total expense to be met, would be

Interest on 30 lakhs at 5 per cent., ...	...	Rs.	1,50,000
Cost of working and superintendence, ...	...	...	1,20,000
			<hr/>
			Rs. 2,70,000

Against this we have the expense which will have to be incurred under any circumstances, as we have already shown; the revenue derived from the European quarter, the contribution from Mutlah, and the probability of natives eventually availing themselves of pure water. To ascertain the probable income that may be expected from the European quarter, we must take into consideration the number of houses. There are in the Southern Division

1873 one-storied.
1436 two do.
222 three do.
8 four do.

altogether 3539 masonry houses; and supposing such to pay

on an average three Rs. a month or 36 Rs. per annum for a full supply of pure drinking water, we should obtain Rs. 1,27,404 which, together with the expense that must be paid, viz.,, 92,666

would give us, Rs. 2,20,070 against the above outlay of Rs. 2,70,000. So that only Rs. 50,000 more would be required to defray the total annual expense. The merits of the schemes before us resolve themselves into two questions:—are we to expend 12 lakhs of Rs., contingent upon an annual charge of Rs. 92,666 which will give only water for culinary purposes, and without any monetary return, or, is it better to lay out 30 lakhs of Rupees for an undertaking, which will place at the disposal of the inhabitants of Calcutta pure and wholesome drinking water, and holds out an almost immediate return of Rs. 2,20,000 towards the annual expense of Rs. 2,70,000 which will have to be incurred for interest and working charges? The latter will be no doubt the more useful one, and we have no doubt, that in the end it will be found the more economical to boot. The natives will gradually learn to appreciate the value of pure water; the Mutlah must procure a sufficient supply for the local wants; so that there is every prospect of the undertaking becoming within a short time self-supporting, and until then the deficiency between annual outlay and income should be defrayed out of the one per cent. duty.

COMMERCIAL.

With respect to commercial requirements, which have everywhere been the means of facilitating and developing trade, Calcutta may be said to be in its very infancy. It is true, the commerce of this city has within the last twenty years nearly trebled, but such is not owing to any particular facilities secured by private enterprise, or to any encouragement held out by Government, but it has been forced into existence by that agency, which induces wealth and energy continually to seek new fields for their practical employment. As far as Government is concerned, there is certainly nothing to show that the least stimulus was given to trade; indeed in several cases the suggestions and advice of practical men had to yield to the dictates of public officers, who had not the least conception of the elements and true principles of commercial policy, and who generally owed the position they held, not to any particular qualification for the post, but to that promotion, to which by virtue of seniority of service they became entitled. The total absence of all private enterprise is moreover, for reasons already shewn, hardly to be

wondered at. The erection of the Bonded Warehouse, and the establishment of two Inland River Steam Navigation Companies, are all the past half century has to boast of; the Railway can hardly yet be classed in the category of commercial facilities, though when completed even as far as Rajmahal, it will prove a most important agent in the promotion of the commerce of Bengal and the development of the resources of the country.

If we compare Calcutta with some of the great seaports of Europe and America, we must be struck by the total absence of all those useful appendages, which everywhere facilitate and promote trade. No quays, no wharves, no jetties, no wet docks, no warehouses, no tramways,—in fact, with the exception of a better description of cargo boats and a couple of cranes, everything bears the stamp of primitiveness. In the interior of the country it is the same. The want of sufficient and proper means of communication and transport have almost everywhere operated as a powerful check upon local enterprise, and indeed there is no country under Christian rule, in which so little change is perceptible within a whole century as in India. The mode of conveying merchandise is with regard to the bulk of trade the same as it was a century ago; agricultural and manufacturing implements are of the same description as they were before we had possession of this vast empire; the process of agriculture and manufactures has not undergone the least change; the people themselves have, whether mentally or physically, but little improved; their manufactures, and even works of art, do not show the least progress, and thus it is, that with a country capable of producing almost every commercial commodity, we are dependent upon importation from abroad, for what we ought to be in a position not only to supply for local consumption, but in fact for export. The great resources of the country have remained undeveloped, because no true principles of commercial policy existed; the system and object of protective duties was misunderstood, and the periodical revision of the custom house tariff itself betrayed a singular absence of those broad principles, by which it ought to have been regulated, so as to form a powerful stimulus to the import and export trade of this country. No attempts have been made to introduce and establish a firm footing in foreign markets of such indigenous productions as have to compete with those of other countries, whilst the very local resources of this vast Empire have been allowed to remain dormant for the apparent benefit of the foreign producer and manufacturer. Had a system of expansive and liberal commercial policy been acted upon, India by this time ought to be a formidable rival of the United States with regard

to cotton,—of China with respect to tea,—and of Russia in reference to fibrous productions. We have expended large sums of money upon experiments, and a much better result might have been attained at the same expense, had we applied it in a different manner. No stronger proof can be adduced of the want of proper development of the resources within our reach, than the fact, that with a mineral wealth, the real extent of which is hardly known, but the existence of which is corroborated by the numerous specimens of rich ores forwarded to the London and Paris Exhibition, we have, at a time when there is a certain prospect of the whole of India eventually forming one great network of Railways, to import from abroad iron rails, and convey them to the very localities where they ought to be manufactured on the spot.

With regard to the trade of this country, Calcutta stands in the same position, as London with reference to the commerce of the world. It is the centre from which all enterprise radiates; it is the dial of the Indian money market; it is the regulator of rates of exchanges; and with the great handmaid of commerce—the electric telegraph—it exercises a sort of control over the price of all commodities both at the place of production and that of consumption. This trade is now to be taxed by the imposition of a duty on profits, and it must therefore be our obvious policy to devise means by which such profits can be increased, for the greater the profits, the greater will be the revenue obtained from the proposed duty. These means consist in a number of facilities which the trade of this port requires, and which will save time and money, for to save one is so much saving of the other. Native prejudices and customs must be made to give way to the spirit and requirements of the age; the dilatory mode of transacting business through lazy sircars, must be superseded by European Agency, and we must introduce local improvements which will facilitate trade, expedite business, diminish the chances of risk, and thereby prove a considerable saving of expense.

The principal commercial requirements of the city, are quays, wharves, jetties, tramways, warehouses and wet docks. The first, we apprehend, will never be carried out, because they would require a very large outlay, and their real utility in the Hooghly is susceptible of considerable doubt, as the alluvial process tends continually to form new shoals and banks along the most important part of the town, so that ships after all could not anchor within sufficient reach of such quays. This fact is proved by several of the ghats in the Northern Division, which at low tides are not accessible to any boats whatever. But no such

objections exist as to floating wharves, because the intersection of numerous piers or jetties would prevent the formation of alluvial deposits within the range of such floating wharves. Nor could any apprehensions be entertained with regard to the effects produced by the great tidal wave, for the jetties at the Armenian ghat, and at the Howrah Railway station, prove their power of withstanding it. There are consequently no difficulties in the way that could not be removed by engineering skill; and besides, floating wharves and jetties have the immense advantage that they could be constructed at a mere fraction of the cost which solid quays would involve. It is true that in point of appearance, and even usefulness, (our river admitting of their construction) there is no comparison between solid quays and wooden floating wharves, but in consideration of the wants of the commercial community, and of the means that might be secured to supply such wants, floating wharves come within our reach, whilst quays must be looked forward as a work to be accomplished by a future generation. We therefore in this case advocate the adoption of an improvement, which will secure benefits whilst in the very course of construction.

But in order to comprehend fully the value of such floating wharves and jetties, we must compare the difficulties which exist at present with the advantages that may be expected to result. The former are as follows:—

- a. Passengers landing or embarking, must do so in boats, and at their own expense.
- b. Goods must be landed or shipped in boats, and at hours in accordance with the tides.
- c. For goods insured against sea risk, the Insurance Companies are liable, until such goods are landed on shore.
- d. Goods of a fragile nature, hoisted from on board ship into a cargo boat, and then hoisted out again on the bank of the river, incur twice the risk of breakage.
- e. Ships at present take upon an average three weeks to discharge their cargoes.
- f. The same delay occurs in loading vessels, and therefore hardly any ship arriving in this port, can get away before two months.
- g. The chance of loss or damage to goods and luggage conveyed to and from shore in boats is much greater than what it would be if ships were moored along the wharf, and could hoist in or hoist out their freight.
- h. Lastly the expense incurred by the hire of boats for the above purposes.

Now if we had floating wharves and jetties, along which ships

could be moored, we should save a great deal of time, much of expense, and reduce the chances of risk to a mere mite.

- a. The expense of landing or shipping goods or luggage by means of boats would be totally avoided.
- b. The risk of Insurance offices would be greatly diminished.
- c. The chance of breakage of articles of a fragile nature would be reduced from two to one.
- d. Ships could receive or discharge their cargoes almost within a week.
- e. Ships therefore could get away in a few weeks, and thus save a great portion of port charges.
- f. The risk of loss or damage to goods or luggage in transit from shore to the ship and vice versa would be totally avoided.

If thus, by the construction of wharves and jetties, we attain one of the principal facilities required by trade for shipping and landing merchandize, the next object ought to be to improve the means and speed of transport on shore. Everybody will admit, that the hackery is no longer suited to the wants of the age. Considering its snail like motion, the habits of the drivers, the clumsiness of construction, and the total inefficiency of the cattle by which drawn, it is clear that, where time is necessary the hackery is one of the most expensive modes of transporting goods. Besides, these hackeries are regular public nuisances, for being apparently under no control of any public authority whatever, they cause formidable obstruction in the streets and thoroughfares; indeed we have often seen parts of Clive Street and of the Burra Bazar Road completely blocked up by them. The inconvenience and not unfrequent disappointment resulting from the breaking down of a hackery on its being stopped in its progress can only be fully understood by those engaged in the export trade. Unnecessary detention of ships—expense of demurrage,—and loss of opportunities of selling bills of exchange at a favorable rate, have not unfrequently been the consequences of the dilatory progress of hackeries, whose drivers have not been taught yet, that “wind and tide wait for nobody.”

It appears to us therefore that we have more than ordinary reason to follow the example set to us by most commercial towns of Europe and America, and to introduce a series of tramways through the most important thoroughfares of the commercial town, adapted for light house draught. The advantages of tramways with vans suited for the transport of merchandise cannot admit of any doubt, whilst that independent of all other considerations they would admit of goods being con-

veyed at a cheaper rate than by hackeries, we are in a position to prove. Our readers are probably aware, that Government recently appointed a Committee to take into consideration the practicability of constructing a tramway adapted for the conveyance of passengers and parcels, and for connecting the proposed termini of the Eastern and Mutlah Railway Companies at Sealadah with the Custom House. The Committee after a careful investigation of the subject have come to the conclusion, that by laying down a tramway through the entire length of Bow Bazar and Lall Bazar, passengers could be conveyed for the whole distance from Sealadah to the Calcutta Custom House at an average fare of nine pie, which, after allowing for working charges and depreciation of stock, would yield a return of $38\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. on the capital expended for its construction. The above rate is less than one-half what native passengers now pay to karranchies. The Committee moreover very significantly add "assuming the tramway as proposed to prove successful, we 'would regard it only as the first link of a chain of similar lines 'that would ultimately include all the main thoroughfares of 'the city for which such accommodation would be desirable, 'and we do not ourselves doubt, that the same general principles which have led us to recommend facilities for the transport, within the city, of passengers and parcels, will in time be 'recognised as equally applicable to that of heavy merchandise." That time, we conceive to have arrived, and the sooner the views of the Committee are generally carried out, the better it will be for the mercantile interests of this city. The growing political and commercial importance of the British Metropolis in the East, renders it necessary, that our efforts in effecting improvements should not only be based upon the immediate requirements of the times, but in fact in anticipation of that extension of trade and enterprise, to which the growing influx of Europeans and European capital must eventually lead.

Having thus explained the advantages that must accrue from the construction of floating wharves, jetties and tramways, we have to consider the manner in which these desirable improvements can be effected, and the management and control under which they ought to be placed. It appears to us, that the former two fall within the legitimate duties of the conservator of the port of Calcutta, and could be best managed by that officer. The scheme would be truly self-supporting, for considering the great saving of expense and of risk, which must accrue to all parties, no objection would be raised against levying a moderate charge for the use of such wharves and jetties. Our suggestion is, that whilst passengers and their luggage be allow-

ed to land free, merchandize of every description should be subject to a small charge fixed by special tariff. Thus we should derive a revenue, a portion of which would be required for the repairs, maintenance and establishments connected with the undertaking, whilst the surplus might be applied towards the repayment of the sums, which will have to be borrowed for constructing the works themselves.

We believe the Chamber of Commerce had some time ago prepared an estimate of the cost which the identical undertaking would involve. We ourselves have seen several other estimates for the like purpose, the heaviest of which amounted to five lakhs of Rupees,—a sum almost equal to what at present is expended for the hire of boats conveying goods and passengers between the shore and ships. The undertaking therefore, when completed, must undoubtedly pay, but whilst in the course of construction, will yield no return. But at the same time the interest on the money borrowed for the construction of the works must be paid, and we maintain, that such ought to be provided for out of the revenue derived from the one per cent. duty, which is levied for the avowed purpose of local improvements. Every class of inhabitants which contribute towards that revenue, has a right to expect that its requirements, as far as possible, will be taken into due consideration; and we therefore hold, that the merchants of this city, who are compelled to disgorge a portion of their annual profits, are entitled to see the one per cent. duty at all events, which *they* have to pay, applied to purposes and facilities, of which the commerce of this city is so greatly in need.

With regard to tramways, we fully endorse the opinion of the Committee, above referred to, who in para. 14 of their report express themselves as follows: “In thus anticipating the growth of the system, we consider it very expedient that it should be placed under a management interested in the convenience of the community, and it appears to us that the general control of the executive and working of the scheme could best be intrusted to the Municipal Commissioners of the city, of whose present duties it seems to be a natural and legitimate extension. It appears to us inadvisable to introduce any separate or independent administration for the communications in the town, and we think that harmony and vigor would be best secured by the agency of officers, whose special duties connect them so closely with the progress of improvements generally in Calcutta.” These arguments bear out our opinion about wharves and jetties being placed under the management and control of the Conservator of the port of Calcutta

But the question of tramways gains considerable importance, if we consider that Chitpore is to be the great emporium of one, if not of two of the railways now in course of construction. The inconvenience to ships obliged to proceed so high up the river for the purpose of discharging and receiving their cargoes, will be considerable, whilst some doubts appear to exist as to the number of vessels that may be anchored there with safety, considering that the locality is so greatly exposed to the great tidal wave; nor are we quite sure that it is accessible for large vessels at all seasons of the year. Under most favorable circumstances therefore the necessity of establishing a Branch Custom House at Chitpore will become indispensable, and this we look upon as opposed to the interests of the commercial community, whose object it must be to concentrate as near as practicable the export and import trade within the mercantile part of the town. The construction of a tramway along the Strand bank from Chitpore bridge to the Custom House can be no matter of difficulty, and it would be attended with the immense advantage of clearing the Strand from those numerous hay, straw, and timber depots which at present are allowed to exist there in defiance of the open danger to the inhabitants within their immediate vicinity.

As far as wet docks and warehouses are concerned, they must be left to private enterprise, but if the facilities we advocate be given to trade, we have no doubt that these useful appendages of commerce must soon spring forth into existence, especially if Government is disposed to hold out the least encouragement. The Strand bank, from the Mint to the Buirra Bazar affords an admirable site for wet docks, and this, we submit, ought to be given at a moderate price to any company willing to engage in the undertaking, and prepared to carry it out. Warehouses will then follow as a matter of necessity, and Calcutta, with regard to the requirements of trade, will then be, what it ought to have been many years ago. Times have changed, and the requirements of trade must be met, or its tide is forced into another channel. Our true policy must be to work in anticipation of the demands of a growing commerce, and to provide those facilities, which give a new impetus to enterprise, and carry with them general prosperity.

POLITICAL.

The Right Hon'ble James Wilson, in his memorable speech in the Legislative Council of India on the 18th of February last, declared that it was the intention of Her Majesty's Indian Government, to encourage to the utmost extent European settlers in this country. Whatever the particular vocation be in

which Europeans may be induced to come out to India, it is clear that the majority will consist of commercial men and of these the Presidency will get a fair proportion. We have then before us a growing commerce, and an increasing influx of Europeans, and it behoves us to provide for the accommodation and requirements of both. In this city, (this is a matter of importance, which demands due consideration,) Hotels are crowded; private lodging establishments are literally crammed; and although the rent of dwelling houses within the last three years has gone up by fully 30 per cent, no sooner is one empty than there are numbers of people ready to take it at almost fabulous rates of rent, especially since Government has proved a formidable competitor, many of the best houses in Chowringhee being hired for public offices. But this increase of rental has reference to every description of dwelling-house both in the European and the Native Division of the Town, thus affording an undeniable proof of the extraordinary demand that exists, and which can only be ascribed to an increase of population and expansion of trade.

With such facts before us, there can be no doubt that in order to afford accommodation for the growing requirements of trade, many of the dwelling-houses within the commercial part of the town, must be converted into mere offices and warehouses, and that their occupants will be obliged to migrate. To provide for them, as well as for new-comers, new houses must be built, and an expansion of the town necessarily follow. This expansion is only practicable to the South and to the East of the City. The former presents some obstacles, owing to the presence of the old Mahomedan burial ground, which, for some unaccountable reason, is still allowed to remain an eyesore to the residents within its vicinity, and to the passer by. Then comes Ballygunge, where there is ample room for building sites, and which can be considerably improved in salubritv, if the jungle to the South East be cleared. There is also plenty of spare land for building purposes along Circular Road, but unfortunately the New Park Street burial ground extends along a portion of that main road, and it is not likely that people will build houses in its vicinity, as the chances of obtaining European tenants would be very doubtful. Sealdah and Entally, which are to be the termini of two Railways now in course of construction, will no doubt grow rapidly into towns, and in that direction therefore as well as Ballygunge, the expansion of the town is likely to take place. But in order to secure benefits to the residents it will be necessary to bring those localities under Municipal control, and in order to provide funds for the improvements that

will have to be carried out, they ought to be brought within the jurisdiction of the Municipal Commissioners. Now is the time when Municipal control would be valuable, because wide and regular thoroughfares could now be laid out at a trifling cost, whereas, when houses are once built, such a measure would be as difficult as expensive. It is our policy to encourage European settlers, but we can only do so by taking measures which will provide for their accommodation.

The necessity of making timely arrangements for straight and wide roads will become more apparent, if we take a glance at the map of this Metropolis and its environs. It will be observed, that with two important military stations, Barrackpore and Dum-Dum, to the North and North East, and with Fort William at the South West of the town, there is actually only one great military thoroughfare through the Northern Division of the towns. Only on this road exist open squares with large tanks; in no other part of the native town are any large squares. It is true there is Circular Road, but that is on the outskirts of the town, and cannot properly be called a thoroughfare. That portion of the Native Town which intervenes between Cornwallis Street and the river, extending over a length of three miles and of an average breadth of two miles, has, from Chitpore bridge to Lall Bazar, only one thoroughfare, viz. Chitpore road, which in fact does not deserve the name of road; the rest is intersected by streets and lanes of various shapes and widths, and totally deficient in ventilation. Yet Chitpore road is the street, which for the sake of trade as well as for political considerations ought to be widened into one of the largest thoroughfares of the town. The same reasons ought to lead to the opening of several squares in the same street. In the report of the Municipal Commissioners for the past year a suggestion is made, by which the former object may partially be attained. The one per cent. duty on incomes might facilitate that object to a still greater extent, and surely it would be a legitimate appropriation of a portion of such duty towards an improvement, which would combine increased ventilation with facility to traffic, and at the same time realise a political object.

But the interests of political economy likewise necessitate a due consideration of those facilities required by trade, which we have pointed out. The difficulties and delays which constantly occur in landing and embarking troops, shipping or landing of Commissariat, Ordnance and general military stores, are chiefly attributable to the absence of the very identical facilities which the trade requires. The importance of this matter will be better understood, if it be considered that, during nine months out

of twelve, exposure to the rain or sun benefits neither men nor goods, whilst the landing or shipping of both must be regulated by the state of tides. Moreover the expense, risk and loss of time at present incurred in landing and shipping troops and stores are in themselves strong reasons in favor of our recommendations. Floating wharves and jetties, we maintain, would prove an enormous saving to the state, of both time and money. How many lakhs of Rupees and how many lives might have been saved, if we had had such facilities in 1857 and 1858!

Another reason, which urges the adoption of such improvements on political grounds, is the fact, that within a short time we shall have a railroad with a station at Barrackpore, a branch line to Dum-Dum, and a tramway from the Sealdah terminus to the Custom House, so that whilst in a position to move regiments and ordnance within an hour from the above stations to the river side, we will require days to put them on board of vessels or steamers; and the same delay will take place in the disembarkation of men and in landing of stores. If in addition to this we give one moment's thought to past occurrences, when British soldiers were allowed to hover amidst the notorious grog shops of the town during the hottest hours of the day, it must become evident that the more expeditious the mode of moving regiments either arriving at, or leaving this port, the greater will be the saving to the state in every respect.

Reviewing then all the improvements, which on sanitary, commercial and political considerations, appear to us to be absolutely required, and towards which the income derived from the one per cent. duty on personal incomes might justly be appropriated, we would recommend to the attention of Government the following more prominently:—

Ventilation of densely populated parts of the native town.

Construction of public squares in the Northern Division.

Opening of new and widening of existing thoroughfares in the native part of the town.

Diffused supply of water.

Quays, wharves and jetties; and

The opening of a great military road.

By the above improvements every class of inhabitants would benefit, and perhaps if people knew of the exact manner in which it was intended to appropriate the special one per cent. duty, less objection would be shown against its introduction. We have to apologize for the length to which these remarks have been spun out, but the subject is one in which not only the residents

of the Metropolis, but of every town in India, are deeply interested; and we trust therefore that all will co-operate by pointing out to Government the particular requirements of their respective towns, for which the local Municipal income is not sufficient, and towards which the one per cent. duty on incomes might fairly and justly be appropriated.

ART. VII.—*The New Quarterly Army List of H. M.'s Forces serving on the Bengal Establishment.* Calcutta: Lepage and Co. 1860.

“THE defect most frequently complained of in the Indian Army, in the last twenty years, is the want of officers with regiments, which must proceed either from there being an insufficiency in the number of officers posted to each regiment, or from the taking away of officers from regiments for employment in Civil or Staff duties”

Thus wrote Lord Metcalfe more than thirty years ago, and assuredly had he lived to the present day, he would have seen no grounds for changing his opinion. For during this time, up to the year 1857, the defect he speaks of had gone on increasing year by year, and the many warnings which followed those given Lord Metcalfe from all whose experience or authority entitled them to be heard, were insufficient to procure a remedy for what was one of the most active causes in undermining the discipline of the Army; now that the officers are left without an army, it is universally allowed that one among the many causes which produced the catastrophe, was, that for so many years the army had been left without its officers, and that the system pursued for supplying the Indian Staff had rendered regimental life distasteful, and regimental duties irksome. Not only were officers withdrawn in such numbers that sufficient were not left for the proper discharge of the duties of the regiments, but those left behind were made to feel that their position was in every way inferior to that of their more fortunate comrades. The occupant of the most insignificant “staff appointment,” doing overseer’s work on the roads, or serving with a half drilled local battalion in some obscure district, was held to be socially in a better position than the mere regimental officers, upon whose efficiency depended the stability of the empire. Add to this that from the centralisation which was established, officers had become mere cyphers in their regiments, that commanding officers were liable to be removed at any moment to give place to a junior, and that, generally, every regulation established of late years tended to slacken the bond of discipline, and it must be admitted that the army had lost all the elements which make military life attractive. And, accordingly, no one who mixed with the army in its latter days will deny, that esprit de corps, in the sense in which it is usually understood, had ceased to exist. No man felt proud of his regiment, many in their hearts felt ashamed.

That army has been swept away, and it is universally admitted

that in re-establishing another in its place, it is absolutely necessary to provide against the occurrence of similar defects. An army must be organised, which though small shall be efficient, and with which officers may be willing and even desirous to serve, and it will be our object in the following pages to shew how this end may be attained in one important respect, viz, that of providing satisfactorily for the demands of the service for staff officers of all kinds, without unduly depressing the position of regimental officers, or interfering with the discipline of regiments.

The present time is a favourable one for discussing the question, since while reorganisation of some kind or other is in every one's thoughts, it seems tolerably certain that no definite conclusion has yet been arrived at by the Government upon this particular branch of it. Questions of this kind, however large and important they may be, are after all only questions of detail in comparison with the still more momentous one of the disposition of the Indian army, and must stand over for settlement until the general organisation of the army is determined. The latter is an imperial question, the solution of which will be arrived at before these pages are printed; but whatever form that solution may take, it seems most probable that a purely local question, such as the relation of the staff to the army, will have to be settled on the spot, or at any rate that a definite scheme, complete in all its details, and adapted to the peculiar requirements of the country, must at any rate be first prepared by the Indian Government, to enable the English ministry to take action in that matter. Although, therefore, the reorganisation of the army may have been already finally determined as a whole, there must still be a vast number of questions in subordination to it, the settlement of which will occupy many months, if not years, and many of which are almost unbroken ground for discussion. We believe therefore that our remarks will afford interest to the majority of our readers, and we hope that the suggestions which we are about to offer will be of considerable assistance in forming the opinion of the public, and of those with whom the decision of the question rests, to a proper way of dealing with the requirements of the Indian Army Staff.

We have remarked that our subject presents unbroken ground to work on, and it is indeed somewhat remarkable that while the evils of the present system have been for a long time universally admitted, we never remember to have heard (with the exception of one instance to be noticed presently,) of a single scheme being put forward which possessed the least chance of being worked with success. The plan adopted by the Court

of Directors was, practically, to increase the strength of each regiment as the demands for the Staff increased; and in this way a sixth Captain was added to each regiment in 1845, and again a seventh Captain and eleventh Lieutenant in 1856; but these augmentations unfortunately came in each case too late to save the efficiency of regiments, and except that so many additional officers were added to the strength of the army, the evils of the system were in no way diminished. Regimental duties continued to be a thing to be escaped from as much as ever, while the augmentation to the lower grades of regiments had of course a tendency to retard the promotion of all future comers. Moreover, from the number of absentees from each regiment being limited by regulation, it followed, that to supply all the requirements of the service, an average number of men had to be withdrawn from every regiment, and thus the field of selection was unduly limited. A man's chance of Staff employ came to depend, not upon his personal efficiency, but upon whether or not his regiment already supplied seven absentees on the Staff. On the other hand, the Government was obliged to take almost the full number of officers allowed from each regiment to supply their wants, although each regiment might not contain the full number of properly qualified men.

This then was the method practically adopted to meet the difficulty; it was admitted to be a temporary expedient, and that some other plan must sooner or later be hit on. And the plan generally talked and written about, and which it is understood has been received with favour in high quarters, has been that of drafting all Staff employes into a separate Staff Corps, and filling up their places in the regiments they have quitted. We believe this plan, though practicable, to be eminently unsuited to the Indian Army, as we think the following considerations will convincingly shew.

The number of officers on the Staff in the Bengal Army, using the word in the same sense as we have all along done, to embrace every kind of detached, as distinguished from regimental employment, amounted in 1851, to about 600. We select this year, for reasons which we shall give presently; the present number is very much larger, but this state of things is exceptional. A Staff Corps, therefore, to fulfil its purpose, must consist of 600 or more officers, and these it is proposed, as we understand the advocates to wish, to form into one enormous regiment, throughout which promotion should run by seniority. The corps would have either a fixed establishment of officers of each grade, probably in the same proportion as prevails in regiments of the line; or promotion would be made to depend on

length of service, 10 or 12 years giving promotion to Captain, 20 or 22 years to Major, and so on.

It must be pretty evident that except in so far as the regiments of the army would be relieved from the mass of non-effective officers now borne on their rolls, which advantage this plan would share in common with every one that may be proposed, there is no advantage whatever to be gained by thus clubbing together all the Departments, Civil and Military of the country, which have in most cases no sort of connection with each other. There is no precedent for such a step, since the Staff Corps of continental Armies, however numerically large they may be, consist entirely of men on the actual military staff of the army, who are all engaged upon the same description of duty. Such a corps as this may, or may not be, a desirable form for the organisation of the *Military* staff of this army; this is a question with which we have here nothing to do, we need only remark that such a scheme would only affect about fifty or sixty officers altogether, and would leave the main point, which is, the present inefficiency of regiments, altogether untouched. It would be equally impracticable to provide a measure which should embrace all military staff appointments, and take no account of civil appointments, or which should have a converse aim, since both require so many officers that any plan would be incomplete which should provide for one class and not the other.

If then there is to be a Staff Corps at all, it must be a corps which shall include every officer detached from regimental duty. As we have already observed, there is nothing in itself attractive in such an idea, nor could we expect to find much *esprit de corps* in such a body of officers, scattered over the face of the country upon every variety of duties, and bound together by no professional ties or professional associations. But the disadvantages would not stop here. Supposing that the establishment of each grade of officers was fixed, their promotion going of course by seniority and without reference to Departments, it might possibly happen that at any time almost all the field officers of the corps, might come to belong to one department, say to the Commissariat. On the other hand, the Adjutant General or the Quartermaster General might often be only a Captain. Now inequalities of this kind should be prevented as far as possible. Under the present system we frequently see young men whose talents and opportunity have raised them to positions in the army much in advance of their positions as regards regimental rank, and it is an excellent thing for the army that there should be such cases. But we generally see that the want of higher rank stands in the way of these officers, and that they would be

still more efficient if they stood high in the army, as well as in their departments, and this defect in the present system is not one to be purposely copied. Besides, the present inequalities are less felt than they would be if men were all in the same regiment, like this Staff Corps. Further, the other anomaly of an officer high in the service holding a subordinate appointment is prevented now by the rule which makes the vacation of every appointment compulsory on attaining a certain grade. But if a regular Staff Corps is once formed, this outlet for the old officers by drafting them back to command regiments will no longer exist.

Again, promotion in departments would have to go by seniority very much more than at present, which would be plainly objectionable. Under existing arrangements, there is some opening for passing over an inefficient man, for the members of a department being chosen from different regiments, the supersession in such cases is only departmental. But men would feel supersession by the officers of their own regiments much more keenly than if it came from the officers of other regiments, and if it became habitual or frequent, military discipline would soon be at an end.

If on the other hand, to prevent great inequalities from occurring in the standing of the officers of different departments, the plan were adopted which has been sometimes proposed, and has already been mentioned, of giving promotion for length of service, some of the evils we have pointed out would be prevented. Under such a system the heads of departments would undoubtedly, as a general rule, be all men tolerably well placed as regards regimental rank. But another evil arises; the number of officers in each grade will plainly be liable to constant alteration, and the cost of the corps to the State will be as constantly fluctuating. This variation of cost may even extend to such a degree as to derange seriously the military financial system. Moreover, the very certainty of promotion at fixed times which such a system would ensure is very far from being desirable. Under either system, there can be no such thing as a lucky officer, as far as promotion goes, and lucky officers are the seeds from which all great Generals have sprung.

Again, under whatever system is established, provision must be made for a portion of the Staff appointments of the country being filled by officers from regiments of the line. No arrangement would be complete in which this was lost sight of. Now many line officers will enter on Staff employ as Captains, and even as field officers, and cannot therefore be transferred to

such a Staff Corps as is here supposed without injuriously affecting promotion in it; while if they remain in their own regiments they will have superior and therefore unfair chances in respecting promotion. Besides, the line regiments are fast following the local ones in having their officers drained off for Staff employ, and the tendency to weaken their effectiveness in this way has equally to be guarded against in their case as in that of the local force. In connection with which point of view we may go still further, and assert that such a corps would not be sufficient to stop the drain on regiments for officers. It might be sufficient at first, but he has read Indian history to little purpose who does not foresee that the requirements of the country for more European officials will increase year by year. The effect of such extended demands will be of course to strain the Staff Corps at first as far as it will go, and then, while the usual haggling for an increase is dragging its slow length between Calcutta and the India House, the unfortunate regiments will be only a too convenient resource for supplying the want temporarily; and in due course of time we shall inevitably come round again to the *status quo* of 1857. The plan of supplying the ever increasing demand for more officers by augmentations to the whole effective strength of the army is, in short, not sufficiently elastic for the varied wants of Indian service.

Lastly, which is the gravest objection of all, and sufficient in itself to condemn the scheme, the army would be divided into two great classes separated by an impassable gulf, the staff and the regimental, the lucky and unlucky; the one drawing all the prizes, and obtaining everything which makes Indian service attractive, the other with nothing to make their present life desirable, and nothing to hope for in the future; for the purely military commands which confer emolument and distinction are too few compared with the number of aspirants, to create any appreciable effect in the way of emulation; and even these would have to be shared with their luckier brethren. The selections from regiments for the Staff Corps would necessarily be made from the junior officers, and an unsuccessful candidate, rejected perhaps from want of interest or of luck, or from deficiency in some non-essential test, according as the mode of selection might be established, would be confined to regimental duty for the remainder of his life. Deprived even of hope, the consolation of the unfortunate, we cannot conceive a more melancholy position than the regimental officers of the army would hold under such a system, which, so far from improving the present state of things, would thus render the status of the

majority of the army infinitely worse than it has ever been before.

Having, therefore, briefly discussed the numerous and grave objections to a separate Staff Corps on the continental pattern, there remains to consider some plans which would meet the requirements of the country, and be free from these defects. And to do this, it may be as well to state first of all what are the conditions to be sought, and which must therefore be satisfied by any scheme deserving of serious consideration. Without, then, attempting any formal proof of what we are about to assert, for which the space allowed us would be insufficient, we shall merely lay down what we conceive to be the necessary requirements of any scheme, and which we think are sufficiently obvious to command general assent. First and foremost, then, whatever plan be adopted, it must be framed with a view to providing for the thorough efficiency of regimental economy under all circumstances of the varying and usually increasing demands upon the army to fill up appointments of all kinds. In stating this to be necessary, we are not pretending to compare the relative importance of military duty, as compared with that of civil or political duty. This is a subject altogether beside the present question, which is not whether military men are well adapted to fill other positions, more or less important, but whether they can be so employed without injury to their own service. It is plain that the only claim the army can hold to such employment must be based on the fact of its being possible to draw upon it without doing it an injury, and if this be impossible, then in a military point of view it would be better to supply the demands of the country in some other way, even though that way be less effective as regards the appointments themselves.

If we have carried our readers so far with us, they will also, we believe, agree that the way to secure this end of making regimental economy thoroughly efficient, is to keep up under all circumstances a fixed establishment of effective officers in every regiment, of such strength as may be considered necessary, and that the prizes of the service should be so apportioned as to give purely regimental service its proper share of them; so that a definite career, with its chance of honour and emolument may be offered to those whom choice or ill-fortune may retain with their regiments; a career which no one will maintain exists at present. Secondly, the field of selection must not be limited to the young men who are just entering the service, but should embrace all classes and ranks of the army. An officer's character and qualifications cannot always be determined early in life; many an excellent officer has given but small promise as a lad

of being worth much, (we do not of course mean that the converse is ever true,) and since there must always be a good deal of choice in making selections, it would be hard if a man who failed to be chosen on first entering the service, should never be allowed a chance again. Thirdly, some outlet must be found for Staff officers who prove ineffective, or become so from age, other than the present one of remanding them to ruin the discipline of their regiments, and to disgust the regimental officers whom they supersede. Lastly, whatever plan is proposed must meet the financial requirements of the country, and be economical in its working.

Now all these conditions can be satisfied by adapting to the Indian Army the system which has obtained for many years in the Royal Ordnance Corps, and which has been found to answer perfectly with them, enabling the demands of the State for extra officers to be met without at all injuring regimental efficiency. We allude of course to what is termed the *Seconding* system, by which an officer withdrawn from his regiment for detached employment is made Supernumerary, and his place filled up by promotion. The system is so elastic in its working, and would be so completely adapted to the circumstances of the Indian Army, that it is surprising to find, not only that it has never established, but that it seems never to have been even officially brought forward. So obviously practicable a plan has of course been discussed in private circles, though even there the impossible 'Staff Corps' is more generally talked of; but, if we except Lord Metcalfe's plan, we never recollect to have met with any for adopting the Seconding system in India, out of the dozens which have been put forward from time to time. Lord Metcalfe's scheme, proposed in 1829, when the mischievous effect of withdrawing officers from regiments for the Staff was first beginning to be felt seriously, anticipates in some measure the Seconding system as established in the Royal Artillery and Engineers; we cannot do better than give it in his own words.

"An intended remedy for the evil felt has latterly been devised, by limiting the number of officers to be withdrawn from corps for employment elsewhere.

But this limitation, by the restraint which it imposes on the Government in its selection of officers for other duties, must frequently be injurious to the public service, and that part of the regulation which compels officers, on promotion to the rank of Captain, to relinquish whatever situation they may hold away from their regiment, if two Captains be already absent, appears to me to operate very hardly on the officers so treated, as well as injuriously on the public service. * * * * * I conceive therefore that it would be much better to adopt some plan by which the Government might be at liberty to command and retain the services of any officer required for the staff or civil employment, without affecting the efficiency of the Army.

And this object, it appears to me, might be accomplished by a very simple arrangement —

In the first place, let the complement of officers requisite for actual duty with a regiment be fixed, without reference to the numbers that may be drawn away for general Staff duty, or Civil employment, or any other exigency of the public service

It is of essential consequence that the Government should have the power of calling away from regiments any officer whose services may be required elsewhere, without any limit as to number

It is, at the same time, of great importance that this power should be exercised without injury to the efficiency of the Army

And it is also very desirable that any plan designed to secure that object should not interfere with the constitution of the Army, or the system by which promotion is regulated.

Without presuming to offer any opinion as to the number of officers that may be requisite with a regiment, I will, for the sake of explanation, suppose the complement to be as at present

Let it be supposed that several of these officers, no matter what number, are required by the Government for public service elsewhere, and withdrawn from the regiment

I have now to suggest the arrangement which seems to me advisable in order to supply the places of those withdrawn

The general principles of my proposal are, that officers withdrawn from regiments should cease to draw any pay or allowances as belonging to regiments, and should be exclusively remunerated by suitable allowances attached to the offices to which they may be appointed, and chargeable to the department to which these offices may belong, and if, in consequence of their being officers of the Army, it be necessary that a portion of their allowances be drawn under the denomination of military pay, that such portion should form a part of the remuneration fixed for the duties assigned to them, and not be in addition thereunto, and should not be chargeable to their regiments, which should be relieved from all expense on their account; that they should nevertheless, retain their regimental rank, and rise, with regard to promotion, precisely as if they were present with their regiments; that the regimental pay and allowances which they would draw if present with their regiments should be received by those who may perform their duties in consequence of their removal, and that the vacancies caused in regiments by the withdrawal of officers for other duties should be supplied by supernumerary officers

For example, let it be supposed that the Lieutenant Colonel be appointed to some situation on the general staff, or to some civil office

According to the principles before stated, he would be paid entirely by the allowances of the office to which he might be appointed. In such a case the Major of the regiment would have to perform the duties of Lieutenant Colonel. I should propose, also, that he be allowed to receive the pay and allowances of that rank, as acting Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment, retaining however the designation and Army rank of Major only

The senior Captain might draw the pay and allowances of the regimental Major, whose duties he would have to perform, retaining only the designation and Army rank of Captain.

The senior Lieutenant might be promoted to the duties, pay, and allowances of Captain, and the senior Ensign to those of the Lieutenant, each retaining his own rank in the Army.

The vacancy caused by the removal of one officer from the regiment might be filled up by the addition of a Supernumerary Ensign.

Supposing the Lieutenant Colonel to return to the regiment, or another to be posted to it, and join it, in consequence of the removal of the former, in either case the Major, the Captain, the Lieutenant, and the Ensign who had been advanced to higher duties and allowances, would fall back each into his proper place, and the Supernumerary Ensign might be posted to any other regiment where there might be a vacancy.

The same process might take place whatever number of officers were withdrawn from any regiment * * * It would be necessary to have in the Army a number of Supernumerary Ensigns, equal to the number of officers employed away from regiments. The Supernumerary Ensigns might be promoted to Ensigns when vacant, and posted permanently to corps according to seniority in the Army.

By this plan it appears to me the following advantages would be gained

The Government would be at full liberty to apply the services of officers of the Army wherever they might be most beneficial to the State.

At the same time, the efficiency of regiments would be maintained.

By making every department and office chargeable for the whole of the pay and allowances of the officers employed therein, there would be no temptation to apply the services of officers to inferior duties, or to duties paid by inadequate allowances, on the fallacious ground that they were partly paid by their regimental pay and allowances—a system by which the State cheats itself, stealing, as it were, officers from regimental duties for other services without supplying substitutes, rendering regiments inefficient, and blinding itself to the actual expenses of offices held by military servants.”

The above plan, would, it is clear, provide for the difficulty of keeping regiments full, and at the same time supplying the staff, but it would do so at a frightful sacrifice of promotion; each man would have to pass seven or eight additional years as an Ensign. And the condition of these Supernumerary Ensigns, belonging to no regiment, but shifted about as they might be required, would be truly deplorable. They would be like the dhobee's dog, without a home either in the house or on the ghat.

The plan, however, pursued with the Royal Artillery and Engineers is free from all objections that we can think of. By this system all officers employed on detached duties are made Supernumerary after six months' absence from regimental duty, and may continue so for ten years, their position and promotion in the regiment remaining unaffected. At the expiration of that time they must either return to regimental duty, or else retire from the army. There are certain technical points connected with the allowances such officers can claim from the Civil Departments they serve under on retirement, which are not applicable to India, and need not be mentioned here. It may be interesting to know that the system, which was established in 1836 to provide officers for purely civil employ, has gradually been ex-

tended to include the officers in the manufacturing and educational departments, and that there were in the beginning of the present year 27 and 38 officers thus seconded in the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers respectively.

This is the plan therefore, which, with certain limitations and modifications to be mentioned presently, we should wish to see introduced into the Indian Army. Thus, instead of the holder of an appointment stopping promotion, keeping the working man out of his proper place, and perhaps returning to supersede the latter at the end of his service, the regiment would gain a step by the appointment, just as much as if the holder had died or retired, his own promotion meanwhile going on as before. Of course in this case the regiment does not get the step over again by the promotion or death of the Supernumerary officer.

In arranging the particulars of the scheme we must first determine what class of appointments are to Second, or make the holders Supernumerary. We would include in the list, then, every description of appointment, whether military or civil, which withdraws a man from regimental duty, with the exception of the regular army staff, that is, of the Adjutant and Quarter Master General's Departments, and the Brigade Staff. These, which constitute the separate Staff Corps of most continental armies, we would specially except from our so-called Staff system. We would leave these appointments to be the perquisites of the regimental officers, who would thus have at any rate one advantage on their side, to set against the many possessed by their more fortunate brethren, while the number of the posts to be filled in these departments is not large enough, or sufficiently liable to increase, to make any appreciable drain on the army. All other appointments would make the holders Supernumerary. In the Artillery the same rule should hold good. For the Engineers there must be some modification, since but a fraction of the officers of that corps are employed on regimental duty. The great majority are engaged in the Public Works Department, and this should therefore be considered their regimental duty; but appointments to the Mint, educational ones, and those connected with the Railways should be considered staff appointments.

If such a measure as this be adopted, the first question that naturally arises, is whether a man should always remain on the staff, when once appointed to it, or whether he should be liable to return to regular military duty, or be at liberty to do so, at any period of his service. Against a prohibitory rule of this kind there is of course to be urged that the military services of first rate soldiers, who have been led during time of peace to

take civil or quasi civil, employ, would be lost for ever to the State. With such a rule prevailing in 1857, we should not have to mourn and to glory in the death of Nicholson; and tried soldiers like Edwardes, Lake, Mackenzie, Taylor, and others now in civil employ would not be available in times of difficulty. But if it be an advantage that the State can draw forth such men in time of war from all departments of the service, on the other hand how many good men have been spoilt by the depressing effects of the system upon them? We cannot have everything. If a man's peculiar fitness for military command is to make him available to be chosen for it without any regard for vested interests, we should in reason go beyond the civil staff of the army and pick out all the dashing civilians who have shewn a capacity for warfare, and there are many such; men like Mr. J. C. Wilson, who is a General by nature. No one however would recommend this seriously; the injury done to others would outweigh the good. And we think the same principle should be maintained as regards the army itself, and that the military prizes should be reserved strictly for the regimental officers. Some good soldiers would undoubtedly be thus lost to the State, but the loss would be more than counterbalanced by the better spirit that would be infused into the remainder. Let regimental service be elevated by making it one of promise, and there will never be wanting able men in the rank of the regiments for every emergency.

We would therefore propose a modified plan of that adopted in the Royal Ordnance Corps, and require that every man on the Staff (that is of course, the civil staff or civil employ) should be required after a certain period, say from seven to ten years, to elect between returning to his regiment and remaining Supernumerary. In the former case, he would of course be Supernumerary in the regiment until a vacancy occurred above him, which he would then fill up; but as somebody else would be made Supernumerary to fill his place on the Staff, the general promotion of the army would be unaffected. If on the other hand he chose the latter course, he would then continue on the Staff, in some capacity, for the remainder of his service. In such case, his allowances should be determined entirely by his Staff employment, but his promotion would be still dependent on the course of promotion in his regiment, the promotion of an effective officer giving promotion to all Supernumerary officers senior to him. Thus if the senior Captain of a regiment were Supernumerary, the second Captain who would be the senior effective, would get the promotion to Major on a vacancy occurring, and the former would also be promoted, and become Supernumerary Major; and so for all other grades.

The effect of such a measure as is here proposed would evidently be that the senior regimental officer would be generally much younger, and the Staff officers much older men than at present, and to equalize the average length of service in the two branches. At present, almost all Staff situations are held by comparatively young men, while none but veterans command regiments; since the rules provide for the vacation of every appointment by a Staff officer on reaching a certain grade, when he goes back to his regiment to take the command from his junior, who has been doing his work during his absence. Thus while the regimental officers are deprived of all incentives to efficiency, and promotion stagnates in the regiments, the promotion of the different departments is of course kept constantly moving, by this forced withdrawal of the men at the top; and accordingly, while the Indian army contains on the average the oldest set of officers in the world, in spite of the climate, in no army is there so young a staff. In every department the majority of the officers are young men. In the Quarter Master General's department the two Senior Assistants, who in continental armies would undoubtedly be field officers, were until the other day both of them Subalterns. So in the Commissariat departments, Subalterns have worked their way through three-fourths of the grades, and there is not such a thing as an old Deputy Judge Advocate General or an old Paymaster in the service. So also in civil employ, the rule which requires a man to vacate a Deputy Commissionership on becoming Lieutenant Colonel tends to keep up a constant supply of young civil officers. The reason for the rule being established was to secure a sufficient number of field officers being always available for the command of regiments; the effect has been as described, to make the 'Company's Colonels' proverbial for senility.

Now we have no objection to raise against the ranks of the Quarter Master General's department being filled by young and active officers; on the contrary we rejoice that there is any outlet available to bring forth the qualities of good men, like Lumsden and Allgood, and others who might be named; and we have already explained that we propose to except this and the other purely military departments from the provisions of our scheme, and to leave them just as they are at present. But we maintain that it is neither necessary nor desirable that the majority of civil employes should be young, and that it is better to have old men for them than for regimental commands. The qualities required from a pension paymaster, for instance, are mainly a capacity for sitting in a chair and signing his name. If a man can do this, and retains the possession of his mental

faculties, his age has nothing to do with his efficiency, and a man may be as good a paymaster at sixty as at thirty. So too, a man may be a first rate Commissariat Officer, or Judge Advocate General or Clothing Agent, yet he guiltless of ever mounting a horse, and as a general rule, the longer he serves in either of those capacities the more experienced and useful will he become. On the other hand every one will admit that the command of a regiment, to be really efficiently conducted, requires that a man should be in the prime of life, and in full possession of his physical as well as his mental powers.

If therefore, it be a necessary part of our military economy that a certain number of old and inactive officers should always remain on the list, we maintain it to be obviously better that they should be allowed to hold on in their departments, than that they should be sent back to the regimental duty for which both by habit and age they have become unfit. The best way to secure efficiency on the staff as well as in regiments in this respect, is, to establish a system of forced retirement after a certain period of service. If it be reasonable to assume that the efficiency of the civil service renders it necessary to remove every man from the list after thirty-five years of service, such a rule must be still more required for the army, and it should be established accordingly, the Government retaining the privilege of suspending its operation in exceptional cases.

If our scheme as above explained, or any modification of it be adopted, the effect will plainly be to make the purely regimental career a much more hopeful one than it is now, and indeed to attach such advantages to it as will render it with many minds a more attractive career than that offered by staff employment. And this we should effect without any increase of regimental pay and allowances, but simply by distributing the prizes of the service more equally, and withholding from the staff some of the unfair advantages which they now possess. Under present rules a man gives up nothing whatever by going on the Staff, and has everything to gain. Immunity from half batta, and from the ruinous expenses of reliefs, a comfortable station and more pay, with very often no more work; all this a man gets by a Staff appointment. And after enjoying all these advantages for fifteen or twenty years, he goes back to his regiment to cut out the unfortunate regimental officer from the command, and very often to spoil its efficiency. But under the proposed system there will be much greater fairness in the allotment of rewards. A man who is offered a paymastership, for instance, will have to set the present advantage of getting more than double pay against

the prospective one of commanding a regiment or a brigade. For an indolent man, or a married man with a large family, the present increase of income and the settled life will doubtless be sufficient inducement to leave the effective strength of the army; but those who can afford to wait, or who look to the army as their profession, will prefer the more regular military career with its chances of excitement and distinction. At present, no one ever thinks of refusing a staff appointment, no matter what it be; there is everything to gain, and nothing to lose, and accordingly we see men leaving their regiments and brother officers to waste their lives with some savage levy in the wilds of Assam or Sumbhulpore, and dragoons in the prime of life, quitting the saddle, to serve out pay and pensions, or to superintend the making up of sepoy's trowsers.* These are melancholy spectacles to our minds, and if the army is ever to be made efficient they must be put a stop to. For while protesting against the opprobrious term *refuse* as applied to any body of officers, which is altogether inapplicable as signifying the *remainder* after *selection*, it cannot be denied that as long as the staff is better paid and more comfortably placed, and is not required to relinquish any purely military advantages, so long either the best officers will as a rule be selected for the Staff, or else the patronage of the Indian Government is corruptly bestowed. We believe that no unprejudiced man will assent to the latter hypothesis, and if not, it follows that the former must be true. And this being so the main object of reform should be to alter the state of things which produces it.

As regards the mode of selection, opinions may be divided. There will be the old school, which desires to leave it as at present, and the new school which goes in for a staff college, open competition and so forth; and perhaps a third party who would prefer that patronage should continue to have its way, but would limit its power to some extent by insisting on a certain minimum standard of qualification. This last view is probably the best. A staff college and competition may be well adapted for a large army with few appointments and in a time of peace, where there is no means of ascertaining men's qualifications otherwise than by book tests, and where unrestricted selection inevitably results in favoritism. But no one will seriously maintain that a book test is the best, or that it is anything more than an indifferent substitute for a way of ascertaining a man's really useful qualities. It is therefore wholly inapplicable to India, where the demands of the service are so many and so varied;

* The clothing agency in the Royal service is appropriately filled by a gallant officer who by the loss of both legs is incapacitated for any active duty.

that constant opportunity is afforded for bringing out the individual character and capabilities of every man. Until the spirit of pedantry has run quite mad, therefore, we are not likely to substitute a mere cram test in the selection of political agents or adjutants of irregular cavalry, for the infinitely better one which a man's character affords.* The patronage of the Indian Government has hitherto been on the whole very fairly bestowed, and there is no reason to apprehend a change for the worse. Finally, we may observe that with the comparative equality that will be established between the military and civil branches of the army, it does not appear likely that the number of candidates for detached employment will be very much in excess of the situations to be filled. If therefore a competent knowledge of the native languages, and a service of four or five years with a regiment be rigidly insisted on, we shall probably have all the requirements that are desirable or practicable. To which however it ought to be added as an essential condition, that every candidate for employment of any kind should be well recommended by his commanding officer. If this be made a *sine quâ non*, and not allowed to degenerate into a mere form, it will do more to support the authority of commanding officers, and to make the young regimental officers zealous in the discharge of their duties, than anything we have proposed.

Besides tests for admission to the Staff, it may be necessary to have some outlet for the disposal of men who may be found to discharge their duties inefficiently, since regiments are no longer to be turned into penal settlements for those who are too idle or too worthless for staff employ, but yet who cannot be brought under the lash of a court martial. This will generally be afforded by the great range of appointments scattered through the country, some of which have disadvantages in point of climate, and inaccessibility attached to them which, with most men, will more than counterbalance the value of the slight addition to regimental pay which they confer. When the so-called Staff embraces every detached duty, from the Agency of Central India to the Adjutancy of the Kamroop Levy, (whatever that may be) it will not be difficult to punish a man pretty effectually by removal from one situation to another, to say nothing of the penalty involved in being sent to one of the many Indian Siberias, even without any forfeiture of pay or position. For the very bad cases, which will always be very few under a well organized

* We would be understood however as by no means wishing to decry the establishment of proper means of instruction for the regular military staff of the army. At any rate there should be an end of the scandal caused by Assistant Adjutants General who cannot ride, and Assistant Quartermasters General ignorant of the first rudiments of surveying.

system, the establishment of an unattached list on reduced pay to which a man may be temporarily transferred, after the manner proposed by the Punjaub Committee in their report on the re-organization of the Army, will probably be found an efficient remedy.

All our remarks have hitherto been made with reference to the Indian Army, but as it is obvious that a considerable share of appointment will henceforth, and very properly, be held by officers from the line, our paper would be incomplete if it did not include some mention of them. We propose, therefore, that all such should also be *Seconded* or made Supernumerary in their regiments, since the drain upon line regiments from this cause is increasing rapidly, and threatens to become a serious evil. There will be some difficulty in dealing with their case, since, as their regiments will leave India periodically, they cannot continue to rise in them by seniority as the Indian officers would do, and the purchase system interferes a good deal with the question. Probably the most practicable solution of it would be to require that these officers should either leave their regiments altogether after a certain period of service or else return to regimental duty, when some special rules would have to be framed for the subsequent promotion of those who chose the former course. Possibly the difficulty would be got over by allowing their promotion to go on as if they were on the unattached list of the line. We presume too that those who had not completed the whole period of staff service which necessitates retirements, before their regiments were relieved, would be required either to vacate their appointment or to exchange. These however are properly Horse Guards questions. But one point must be definitely settled by the Indian Government in justice to the Indian Army, and that is, the proportion of appointment to be held by the two services. What that proportion should be is a somewhat complex question which the limits of our space will not admit of discussion here; we will just remark that as the line has advantages, which are not possessed by Indian officers, of a choice between service here and in Europe, of a free passage both ways, and others which will readily suggest themselves to our readers, a distribution which should be fixed in the proportion of officers of the two services employed in the country would *not* be a fair one. The Indian officers should evidently have a larger share than such a distribution would give, to compensate them for their exile, and deprivation from the chance of distinction on European ground.

In laying down our scheme, and the general rules which should guide it, we have left the discussion of one exceptional

case to the last, that namely of officers appointed to irregular regiments. These are a large body, and while their number requires that they should be made Supernumerary in their own regiments, to prevent the regimental economy from being upset by their removal, it is plain that as their duties are purely military it would be out of the question to make them altogether non-effective, as we propose to do those who join the civil staff and civilian appointments. It is easy however to provide for them without breaking through the principles of our system. Irregular officers should be *seconded* on appointment to irregular corps, and should remain so as long as they might serve with them, but they should be eligible for all appointments on the Staff of the Army, and be at liberty to return at any time to their proper regiments, either at their own choice, or when required to do so by the exigencies of the service. At the same time, the compulsory rule which requires an officer to vacate the command of an irregular regiment on reaching a certain grade of the service should be abolished. The rule is unnecessary, since the command of an irregular regiment is every whit as important as that of a regular regiment. It is very often worse than unnecessary, since what can be more preposterous than to require a man who has passed his life with a regiment of irregular cavalry to return to, perhaps, a regiment of European infantry, for which his previous habits and experience have quite unfitted him. We would therefore leave transfers of this kind to a man's own choice, which in most cases will not lead him astray; only insisting on them when rendered necessary by the requirements of the public service, as for instance where it may be desired to keep the command of a regular regiment from an officer known to be inefficient. But to make the transfer optional it will be necessary to readjust the scale of pay of irregular regiments, since, while the allowances attached to them are consolidated, and independent of rank, it will be for the interest of a regimental field officer to return to the regular service on reaching that grade. There is no reason why the system should not be changed. A young man who obtains the command of an irregular regiment will usually think himself sufficiently well off in having the command itself, without reference to the allowances, and, as far as they are concerned, be satisfied with six or seven hundred Rupees a month. But as a man grows older his wants increase, and the present consolidated salary of one thousand Rupees a month is not adequate remuneration for an old officer who has filled a responsible place for many years. All the world over, pay is held to be as much a reward for work done as for work doing, and this principle

might be introduced with advantage into the pay code of irregular regiments. If this be done, and a staff salary, in addition to the military pay and allowances of a man's rank, be attached to irregular commands, there would no longer be an inducement to resign these commands, and promotion in the regular regiments would not be impeded.

But there are no grounds for making a similar exception in favour of appointments in the police; these should come strictly under the operation of the general rules laid down, it being most desirable in our view to establish a broad line of distinction between them and the purely military service. The police battalions have at present, it is true, a certain amount of military organisation, but it will be much for the advantage of the State if this element be diminished, and we trust that before long these police establishments will become more assimilated to the general conception of what a police ought to be. When this takes place, the police appointments will still have sufficient attraction for candidates in tolerable pay, a comfortable settled life, and considerable independence, with a fair chance of civil employ; on the other hand they will afford no proper training for military command. We think it unquestionable therefore that these employments should involve retirement, after the manner already proposed, from the effective strength of the army.

We have now completed our sketch of the reforms we advocate. In framing it we have been guided primarily by a desire to elevate the purely regimental life of the Indian officer from the degraded state into which it has been suffered to fall. Unless this can be effected, all reorganisation and reform will be incomplete and unsatisfactory. So far from late events and the foreshadowed changes tending to render such reforms as we propose obsolete, they will now be more necessary than ever. With the universal dislike and contempt for sepoys that is now everywhere expressed, it will be hopeless to expect that a body of officers will be obtained to carry on the regimental duties of the army in a contented spirit, (to say nothing of professional pride,) unless some strong measures are adopted to give them distinct and tangible advantages within their regiments. And unless the native army can be reorganised on such a footing as will render it an object of ambition to a man of soldierlike feeling to belong to its ranks, it will be far better not to reorganise it at all. An army that is despised is worse than no army at all. We doubt if our proposals contain more than enough to effect the object in view; and if the threatened plan be adopted of dissociating the European part of the Indian

army from the native, we fear that, even these will be insufficient to prevent the latter from being considered an inferior service.

We now proceed to consider the actual details that will be necessary in carrying out our scheme, and in so doing we shall keep the same conditions in view as we have hitherto done, namely, that the scheme should be capable of introduction without violent changes, or violation of existing interests, and that it should not be attended with any unnecessary cost. And to simplify matters, and avoid tediousness, we shall confine ourselves to the Bengal Presidency, with the circumstances of which we are most familiar; the extension of the application to the rest of the army is a matter which any one may easily effect for himself. When we speak of details, however, we must be understood to use the word with some qualification, since it is evident that the actual application of any such scheme as this must depend on the form at which the Indian army may finally arrive. All that is practicable now is, to assume one of the many different forms which reorganisation is likely to take as the one to be actually adopted, and to apply our scheme to it. The principles of action being pointed out in the one case, it will not be difficult to conceive a similar mode of treatment for the organisation of the Staff under any other form which the decision of Parliament may order.

Without noticing all the different proposals that has been made, we may observe generally that that three main courses have been suggested for the disposal of the Indian Army, one of which will probably be adopted. First, there is the plan proposed by the Duke of Cambridge. The army as far as the officers is concerned, is to be gradually extinguished. The European regiments and the Artillery are to become at once portions of the Royal Army, all future appointments both for officers and men being made for general service, though the regiments are not to be called on to serve out of India while any of the present generation of officers remain in them. A portion of the infantry officers to be absorbed by appointment to the additional battalions of the line to be raised for Indian service, and the remainder to be thrown into one general list, from which they would be appointed to Staff appointments or to native infantry regiments, and the surplus would be attached as supernumeraries to the different line regiments serving in the country. The following extracts are taken from the evidence of H. R. Highness before the Organisation Committee.

"There being six local European corps already in existence, the remaining 39 [required for the Bengal Presidency] should be all regiments of the

line, and if the present number of battalions of the Army of the line should not be sufficiently numerous to furnish the corps serving in India and the colonies with adequate relief, any additional European corps to be formed, to be officered by the officers of the late Company's service, by which means a considerable number might and would be absorbed. * * * Of late great complaints have been made as to the want of officers of regiments in India, consequent on the change established some years ago, when one Subaltern per Company in all regiments in India was reduced. Possibly a certain number of Supernumerary Subalterns, say four or six per regiment, might be added to each corps; these to be all taken from the unemployed Subalterns of the late Bengal Army. By allowing these Supernumerary officers to remain on the general army list, to which I shall allude hereafter, their promotion by seniority would go on irrespectively of the regiment to which they might be temporarily attached, and thus their rights and privileges would be maintained."

And as regards the Native Army :

"I would at once place the officers composing it upon one general list of seniority, fixing the number of each grade, and allowing them to go up from the Ensign to the Colonel in one regular and unbroken seniority * * * From this list the selections should be made for officers to the regular native infantry regiments, the staff, both civil and military, the police corps, in short, for all the various employments which have hitherto been open to the officers of the Indian Army. I do not mean to confine my selections for irregular or special duties to this general service list, officers will equally have to be selected from the European corps for these various staff duties, but a considerable proportion of them would as a matter of course, devolve to the officers of the purely local and native service, and these would all be selected from the list above referred to. It is in this list that I would equally place the Supernumerary officers of the late Company's Army, for whom at present no employment can be found, and whom I propose to attach to the European regiments of the line. Their promotions would thus be ensured, and they would rise in regular gradation with the rest of their brethren."

As the Duke of Cambridge further recommends that the officers of European regiments on Staff employ should be seconded, this scheme provides at any rate for the efficient officering of all regiments, both European and native, and if it is carried out, our scheme will have been anticipated in its main points. We may remark that it is not likely to be received with favour by the House of Commons, and certainly not by the army. To talk of maintaining the existing rights and privileges of a body of officers who are to be turned over to spend the rest of their days as supernumeraries of line regiments seems to be a bitter mockery of the terms. Few officers, we imagine, would learn to regard such a fate as one of the privileges of Eastern service.

A more likely issue than this is the one suggested of transferring the European regiments of the Indian army to the line, as additional regiments, and also placing the Artillery and Engineers under the Horse Guards, though still maintaining their local character and organisation, the native army being left as a separate force under the control of the Indian Government. Some

such arrangement as this appears to be in favour with the ministry. It will be a bad day for the status of the native army if it is carried out; or at any rate some such scheme as we here propose will be absolutely necessary, if it is not to sink into an inferior service.

The third main proposition put forward, and which is evidently in most favour with the House of Commons, is that of retaining the local character of the whole Indian army, under a Government distinct from that of the Horse Guards, and augmenting considerably the European portions of it. This augmentation would absorb a considerable number of the officers of the disbanded native regiments; the remainder would be thrown into one general list, and employed on detached duties, or be retained in separate cadres, as at present, for convenience of promotion. This solution of the question is, we fear, almost too happy a one to be realised. As we must assume however that the reorganisation will take one or other of these forms, we will take this one, which will render the application of the principles we have laid down more simple and easily understood than either of the other two.

Let us suppose therefore that the Bengal army has to be dealt with by a redistribution, without amalgamation with any other service, of its present strength, consisting of the regiment of Artillery, the corps of Engineers, five regiments of European cavalry, six regiments of European infantry, fifteen regiments of regular native infantry, and fifty-three cadres of officers of disbanded corps. The number of officers, excluding the Colonels, who may be considered non-effective, is as follows:

Artillery,	12 Battalions of 28 officers,	...	...	336
Engineers,	5 Battalions of 26 do.,	...	...	130
Cavalry,	5 Regiments of 44 do.,	...	...	220
European Infantry, }	6 Regiments of 50 do.,	...	...	300
Native Infantry, }	15 Regiments of 25 do.,	...	...	375
Cadres of disbanded Regiments, }	53 Regiments of 25 do.,	...	...	1,325

Total officers of the Bengal Army, }
excluding Colonels, ... 2,686

We have first to consider what will be the probable number of absentees from this force, on detached employment with irregular regiments, &c., and how many will be available for regimental duty and the Army Staff. This is not very easy to determine; the circumstances of the country have altered so largely since

the army was last on a regular footing that calculations made from the statistics of 1857 would probably be inadequate, while on the other hand the present number of Staff appointments, with the host of temporary levies included, will be in excess of the final demand. If we take the year 1857 for our guide, we find that the number of absentees (not counting the Engineer Corps) was 493. This however was plainly an exceptional year, even for those times, there being then the much larger proportion of 440 and 304 absentees from the Madras and Bombay Armies respectively.* But 1857 appears to have been an exceptional year, since we find that in 1851, when the Bengal Army was considerably smaller, there were 581 absentees. Since 1857, again, the number has largely increased, from the establishment of the Military police, and numerous irregular regiments of all sorts. As regards furloughs, the absentees from this cause for the whole Indian Army were 688 in the year 1851. Since that date the Army has been increased by 768 officers, so that assuming that the new furlough regulations have no effect in increasing the number of furloughs, which however is scarcely a fair supposition, there should be on the average 780 men on furlough from the whole Indian Army, of which about 370 would belong to the Bengal establishment.

The following is the actual number of absentees from the Bengal Army, taken from the latest available returns. We may observe that we have not included in it any officers serving on the Army Staff, or as Aide-de-Camps to general officers and governors, because, as already explained, we propose to fill these appointments from the effective regimental officers; also that sick furloughs are included as well as those on private affairs.

	On detached Employ.	On furlough.
Artillery,	65	49
Engineers,	25	18
Cavalry,	20	43
European Regiments,	77	50
N. I. Regiments,	659	234
Total,	846	394

* The numbers of officers of the three armies, excluding Colonels, is—

Bengal,	..	2,686
Madras,	...	1,900
Bombay,	.	1,159
Total,		5,745

thus it appears the popular idea that Bengal was more highly favoured than the sister presidencies in respect of Staff appointments was a complete mistake. The luck, if it can be called such, was entirely the other way.

Thus there has been a very large increase in the number of Staff appointments since 1857, as might have been expected. This number will probably be considerably decreased by the reduction of levies which may be expected to take place sooner or later. On the other hand the demands of Government for European agency in all departments of the State will increase year by year, and we shall be not far wrong if we set down the future number of absentees at 800. It will be observed that the number of officers on furlough, 394, approaches nearly to the number, 370, which we obtained by calculation. But it must be remembered that the army is, by some hundreds of Officers, below its proper strength, and that a large proportion of the Subalterns are very young. As time wears on many more than these will be entitled to take furlough. On the other hand there has been lately a general rush home after the mutinies. On the whole, it is probable that the number of absentees on furlough will increase. However we have mainly to do with the Staff absentees, the number of which as above explained we shall assume to be 800.

We have now to determine the number of effective officers required with their regiments, to do which we must consider each branch of the service separately. And first, as regards the Artillery, we will assume that the present number of officers is sufficient for the strength of the regiment, as it now stands, and that when the additional companies are raised to supply the place of the disbanded native ones, a corresponding increase will be made to the officers. The necessity for doing this has been admitted in the highest places, and need not be argued here. Next with respect to the European infantry. The present complement of each regiment consists of two Lieutenant Colonels, two Majors, fourteen Captains, twenty-two Lieutenants and ten Ensigns, altogether fifty officers, besides the Colonel. Were all these effective, they would be considerably more than necessary for the proper discipline of 10 Companies; but, as is well known, only a small fraction is ever present with the colours, indeed the European regiments have usually been more drained of officers than any branch of the service. As to the number that should be effective, we have the example of the regiments of the line, and may fairly assume that what has been fixed as proper for them after the experience of many years, will not be too much to allow for the local regiments. We have indeed the authority of the Duke of Cambridge, that the reduction made by Lord Hardinge when Commander-in-Chief, of one Subaltern per Company in each regiment serving in India has reduced their complement too much, and that an increase of Subalterns is much wanted. Taking this minimum however as sufficient, then every European regiment of infantry should

have four field officers, twelve Captains and twenty six Subalterns to be efficient. We propose of twelve Captains, to give ten for the Companies at head quarters, and two for the depôt Companies to be treated of hereafter. This number of officers would be the smallest that would admit of the regiment being efficiently officered, and allow for absentees on private and sick furloughs, for those officiating in Staff appointment, and young officers learning their duty. One or more officers would probably be also drawn for the Military Staff appointments of the army, and it would therefore be perhaps desirable to have four or five additional Subalterns beyond the number of two per company set down above, to insure there being always two officers per company present with the regiment. Assuming however the effectives to be fixed as above at forty, this number should be invariable, and all in addition appointed permanently to detached employment should be made Supernumerary, and their places filled up.

The cavalry would of course be dealt with in the same way. The strength of a regiment having been fixed at eight troops, on precisely the same scale as those of a royal regiment, if we add a depôt troop, which the latter possesses, the complement of officers should also be the same, and we would fix it at three field officers, nine Captains, and twenty Subalterns; the fourth field officer which dragoon regiments have now, being in our view as unnecessary expense to the State, might be abolished.

Native Infantry. Respecting the requirements of this branch of the service we cannot do better than quote from the Court of Directors' Despatch of September 1856 upon this subject:—

“We take this opportunity of expressing our opinion that the Native Regiments of the line should always have present with them for regimental duty in time of peace—

1	Officer for Command	•
10	„ eligible for Command of Companies	•
2	„ „ Regimental Staff	

Total 13 officers

besides the young ensigns who are training for their duties. And that in time of war every available officer detached from the Regiments for Staff employment, should forthwith rejoin it.”

In the same despatch, the Court quoted the opinion of Sir Charles Napier, “that neither the native officers nor the sepoys ‘look with either respect or affection upon a set of young European officers,” adding their own view, “that the mere appointment of one or more officers to the rank of Ensign in addition to those at present on the establishments of a regiment of Native Infantry would not be the remedy required to meet effec-

‘tually the present exigencies of the Indian army, for owing to their youth, inexperience and want of rank, such additional officers would not form an adequate substitute for the older and experienced officers who have been withdrawn from regimental duty. The most useful, and therefore most influential officers, are the field officers, captains, and senior subalterns, who have obtained experience of native character. It must be our aim to augment those ranks upon which calls for detached employment are most frequently made; so that ultimately those calls may be met, without risking the discipline of our regular regiments.”

It is evident from this that the Court's idea of effective officers did not comprise all the officers present with their colours, but only those who had gained some training and experience; and that in addition to the number prescribed by the Court, an allowance must be made for young officers and for absentees, on furlough, and employed to officiate in the place of Staff officers on leave. Taking these into consideration we shall not go beyond the mark in allowing two field officers, and two officers per Company, which with two for regimental Staff will give a total of twenty officers for a regiment of eight Companies. We assume eight as the number of companies that will eventually be fixed for every regiment, since ten is a preposterous number for battalions only 700 strong.

Having arrived at the conclusion, then, that 42 effective officers are required for every European regiment, and 20 for every native one to ensure a proper number being always available for duty, we proceed to apply it to the present condition of the Bengal Army. Of the 68 cadres of native infantry officers, 15 are attached to regular regiments, seven or eight officers being actually present with each. To each of these we would at once attach one of the remaining 53 cadres of officers, which would bring up the nominal strength of each regiment to 50 officers. Of these unattached cadres the officers are of course all scattered over the country, on different employments, some permanently appointed to the Staff, others merely doing duty with line and local regiments until their fate be decided. These last would join their new regiments at once, which would thus on an average have double their present complement of officers, and would not be far short of the required number; in a few cases there might even be an excess. To bring them all to the regular standard laid down, the procedure adopted would be to *Second*, or make Supernumerary, all permanent Staff employes. If the remainder was less than twenty, appointments would be made to the regiment until that number was complete; if it was

more than twenty, no appointments would be made to the regiment until by casualties or appointments to the Staff the effective officers became reduced to twenty, after which every vacancy among the effectives would be filled up in due course. So with regard to the number of officers that might be established for each grade; the surplus would be reduced by stopping promotion in that grade until it was absorbed. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the promotion in these regiments would run in wings, according to the established practice in such cases, until the left wing was disposed of.

By the above arrangement we have accounted for 30 of the 68 native infantry cadres. There remain 38 to provide for. Of these one cadre might be attached as a third wing to each of the newly raised European regiments, the fourth, fifth, and sixth, and which are all lamentably in want of regimental officers. They would then have each a gross number of 75 officers below the rank of Colonel, but there would be scarcely more than the required number of 42 effectives. Having thus augmented the strength of these regiments, we would treat them as we proposed to do the native infantry, seconding all men on the Staff, and filling up the vacancies until the full number of effectives was reached. This done, there would remain 35 cadres for disposal. Some of these would probably be required to officer some new corps of native infantry, there being only fifteen regiments now. We are aware of the general prejudice against any native troops, but we are satisfied that the feeling is transitory, and that there will be a revulsion. We are no supporters of the policy of retaining an overgrown native force, but we feel, with every sensible and unprejudiced person, that a small native army is absolutely necessary, and that such a force, properly officered and disciplined, would have but small resemblance to the old native army, and would be a most valuable element of our military strength. The popular feeling is just now undoubtedly in favour of irregular in preference to regular troops, but the advocates for the former have only to consider the matter, to see that an army of irregular troops is practicably impossible. Where a regiment only has three, or at the most four officers, it is plainly necessary that there should be a large reserve of officers conversant with native troops, to fill up vacancies at once; since with so few, the loss of one man affects the morale of the regiment, particularly in action. If the whole native army be officered in this way, it is plain that there will be no such reserve, nor have we to ever heard of any plan which would supply its place. The last campaigns afford a strong illustration of our views. At Delhi the Simoor Battalion and the Guides

lost each three sets of officers, and others suffered almost as badly; had there not been a large reserve of unemployed officers to fill up their places as they fell, these regiments could not have been kept before the enemy, and the campaign would have been lost.

We think then it must be admitted that a regular army of some kind is necessary, and that looking to the extent of the Bengal Presidency, fifteen regiments will not be enough. Let us suppose that the establishment will be fixed at 20 regiments (though we believe that ultimately a larger number will be found necessary); on this supposition 10 more cadres will be required to officer them, leaving 25 to be disposed of, which would be available for the formation of more European regiments. The number of these to be added is of course quite uncertain, but assuming for the sake of illustration that it is fixed at nine (giving a total of fifteen for the Bengal Army) we should require 27 more cadres to form them.* The two additional cadres required should be raised by selection in the customary way from the whole army according to seniority, (giving all the unlucky men a lift), and three cadres combined would form each of the new regiments.

If a larger number is to be raised than is here supposed we would still attach three cadres rather than two to each, as the precedent of the European regiments lately raised shews, that two cadres, with their large number of Staff absentees, do not furnish a sufficient number of officers, and that either some Staff officers must be sent back to their regiments, (a most undesirable way of supplying good regimental trainers of recruits,) or the regiments must remain inefficient until new officers are posted, and have learnt their duties. By using three cadres instead of two to form a regiment, the deficiency of officers is of course made good in that proportion.

We have not yet noticed the three old European regiments. By reference to the latest returns, we find that they had present at head quarters only two, three, and one Captain respectively, and that they were but little better off for Subalterns. This state of things does not give either men or officers a fair chance, and should be remedied at once. In proposing to add a cadre of the surplus native infantry officers to each of the three newly raised European regiments, we did no injury to existing interests, since the officers composing them were themselves native infantry officers but two years ago; but a similar addition could not fairly be made to the three old regiments. We would therefore deal with them by at once seconding all the permanent absentees, promoting and making appointments in their places

until they were brought up to the strength of 42 effectives. It may be thought that this measure would give them an unfair advantage over the rest of the army, but it must be remembered that the result of the mutiny has been to place them at a considerable disadvantage with the latter; for while the average promotion of the native infantry has been vastly accelerated by the casualties from massacres, the only vacancies in the European regiments have happened in the ordinary course of service. So far, therefore, our proposed plan would do little more than put matters straight; and after all, the efficiency of the army should be the first consideration, which cannot but be affected injuriously by the present state of these regiments.

With respect to this question of promotion, indeed, it is to be regretted that when the extraordinary losses in individual regiments were first made known, the Government did not determine that all promotions arising from the mutiny should run through the whole army, instead of by regiments. As it was, a large number of men have gained their promotion to Captain simply from the fortunate accident of having been absent from duty when their brother officers were murdered; and where promotions have been occasioned by casualties in action, these have been mostly officers fighting with regiments to which they were temporarily attached, and with which their brother officers had no concern. While others, as the 31st N. I., have been rewarded for keeping their regiments staunch by being hopelessly superseded by the rest of the army. We trust that advantage will be taken of the addition of any European regiments in excess of those to be supplied from the disbanded corps, to give these unlucky officers a lift. It is one of the disadvantages of the seniority system that there are ordinarily no means of putting distinguished men like Colonel Norman, and others we could name, into positions commensurate with their services; but seniority has received such rude shocks in the mutinies and the wholesale brevet which followed, that it may well be strained a little further without doing injustice.

The cavalry would of course be dealt with precisely as the infantry. Here there are no Supernumerary regiments to be provided for, and comparatively few absentees, but there is a large number of vacancies. The process of adjusting these regiments to the effective strength of 32 officers will therefore be short and simple.

We are now in a position to ascertain how far our proposed plan will meet the requirements of the public service as regards numbers. Assuming the absentees on the Staff to be 800, as before, we shall have as the total of the reorganised army :

Artillery,	12 Battalions	of 28 officers,	324
Engineers,	5 Battalions	of 26 do.,	130
Cavalry,	5 Regiments	of 32 do.,	160
European Infantry,	} 15 Regiments	of 42 do.,	630
Native Infantry,			
	20 Regiments	of 20 do.,	400
			1644
Seconded officers,			800

Total, 2,444

so that the number of officers required when the new system should be fully established would be actually less than that of the present establishment by about 240 officers. This result was to be expected; the number which might be withdrawn for Staff employ from the whole Indian Army was fixed at 1603 by the Court of Directors in 1856; yet while the total number of absentees at that date was only 1237, the Indian Government reported that "with regard to every vacancy which occurs 'on the Staff, there is a difficulty in filling it up.'" This difficulty is doubtless to be explained by the narrowness of the field of selection, the number to be taken away having been fixed, as already stated, at seven per regiment. Had the Government of India been unfettered in their selection of officers except as regards the total number to be taken away, the 1237 absentees might have been withdrawn with much less detriment to the army than was felt, since even the maximum of 1607 is only at the rate of three Captains and four Subalterns per regiment and battalion. So the proposed scheme will enable the demands for the Staff to be supplied, and regiments still kept thoroughly effective with a smaller fixed establishment than the present ones, simply by the application of a self-acting remedy where it is required.

This then is our scheme. That every regiment should be kept at all times with a full and fixed complement of effective officers, sufficient for the proper discharge of regimental duties, to allow of the usual number of absentees on furlough, and to furnish in addition the military staff of the army, and officers to officiate for absentees from the civil departments and civil employ. Every officer appointed permanently to the latter duties to be made Supernumerary in his regiment, and to be paid entirely with reference to the department he is serving with, to which the whole of his pay is to be charged; his promotion however remaining unaffected. Option to be given of returning to regimental duty after a certain period, say seven years; declin-

ing which, he must remain on detached employ for the remainder of his service. Military commands of all kinds to be filled from the effective branch of the Army. We have proposed a special exemption in favour of the officers of irregular regiments, who, though made Supernumerary, are to be eligible for all military appointments equally with those of the line, and may return at any time to their regiments. We propose also to frame the details for setting this system to work so that all regiments now existing may be transferred to their new status without any violent changes, and we would respect all existing privileges.

The Army will then be neither smaller nor larger than is necessary, and the military charges of the State will be fixed, and will be actually expended for purely military purposes. The Army will also be a thoroughly elastic recruiting field for the Indian Service generally. If the wants of Government for European officials increase, they could be met to any extent without injuriously affecting any other interest; if on the other hand, reductions can, and are to be effected, the officers who are no longer required can return to their regiments, and become gradually absorbed.

It will now be interesting to glance at the probable effects of the establishment of this system upon the army. And first, it seems clear that the total number of officers will bear a slight reduction, since as shewn above, a maximum of 2,456 would be required on our hypothesis, instead of the present complement of 2,686. But as the actual strength of the army is now considerably below the nominal strength, there being a large deficiency of ensigns and cornets, it seems probable that the reduction may be effected without dispensing with the services of any officers now in the army, save such as may be required to retire, either if a rule be enforced (as seems likely) fixing a limit of service, or to admit of some comparatively young officers being brought up to the grade of Lieutenant Colonel for the command of the European regiments to be raised.

Secondly, promotion in the army will be greatly accelerated. Where now there is only a fixed establishment of one Lieutenant Colonel and one Major, there may be, on the seconding system, three or four, or even more of each grade, all but one being supernumerary. So there may be, and probably would be, an excess in each regiment above the fixed establishment of Captains, while perhaps there would be very few Lieutenants, and no Ensigns supernumerary. And the effect of this increased proportion of superior officers to Subalterns is of course to accelerate promotion. The regimental officers will thus be younger men, as a rule, than they are at present; but in the case of

Staff officers, it being no longer necessary to vacate appointments on attaining a certain rank, there will be a retarding influence on this account which may balance the other. The expense to the State will be perhaps on the whole slightly enhanced. The command of regiments will be always held by field officers (except when they are on furlough) drawing the full pay and allowances of their rank, which will put an end to the saving now sometimes arising from the command being held by Captains.* The number of effective field officers in addition to the commandant will also be larger than at present, or perhaps it would be more correct to say that there will be some field officers besides the commandant where there are none now.

A further increase of cost will arise if the allowances of irregular regiments are made additional to regimental pay, and if, as we propose, field officers of all grades are allowed to command them. The total charge for the pay of Captains and Subalterns in such appointments will, certainly, be somewhat reduced, but on the whole there will probably be a small increase. It is likely, too, that the fixed charges of the Commissariat, Judge Advocate, and other civil departments would be somewhat higher than their present average cost of staff and military pay together, regard being had to the greater average length of service of future incumbents; though we do not mean that such an increase would be *necessary* to ensure that plenty of candidates should be forthcoming to fill up vacancies.†

Thirdly, promotion will run somewhat more unevenly than heretofore. Now, the establishment of each regiment is fixed, it is the number of effective officers which fluctuates, the regiment being in most cases the sufferer. Under the proposed system, while the number of effective officers will be invariable, that of the Supernumerary officers will be unlimited, and may be much larger in some regiments than in others, of course affecting promotion accordingly. We submit that this change will be decidedly advantageous. It will give to Government an unrestricted field of selection, which it does not now possess, and it will bring up some young men to the top of regiments.

* We have more than once seen regiments of the line commanded by Subalterns, and that in time of peace.

† The Public Works Department affords an illustration of an easy way of consolidating allowances, irrespective of military rank. The civil officers employed in it have a separate scale of salaries from that of the military in each grade, in every case somewhat higher. Thus while a military man holding the appointment of First Class Executive Engineer draws 600 Rupees a month, a Civilian draws 900 Rupees. A Lieutenant, therefore, gets rather less, and a Captain rather more than a civilian in this grade. Military officers transferred permanently from their regiments to this Department would naturally come under the same rules as civil officers.

Of course this will amount to an overthrow of the old principle which professed to equalise promotion as much as possible. But this equalisation, though a very good thing for a few officers who may be saved by it from supercession, seems to be a very bad thing for the Government, whose interest it is to have such an organisation for its Army as will render young generals a possibility. It cannot be too often repeated that the Army is not a mutual benefit society for the convenience of a body of middle aged gentlemen, but an institution for the service of the State; and, moreover, when it is considered that the seniority system has already in effect been upset by the brevet system, it would be foolish to forego the means of improving our military efficiency from a fear of disturbing interests which have already almost disappeared.

Lastly, the greatest change of all, and to which we have already alluded, will be that the move from a regiment to a Staff appointment* will no longer confer unalloyed benefit. Every man making it will have to forego certain distinct advantages, the chief of which will be the prospect of obtaining high military command, and achieving military distinction; while regimental officers will clearly gain all that the others surrender. This will create an immense alteration in the state of military society in India, though it is not easy to predicate how far the relative positions of the two classes will be affected. But it seems probable that the average higher rate of pay which the Staff will enjoy, and the prospect of immediate benefit, will be sufficient inducements to the majority of minds to make it the most attractive service of the two, and that yet men with a strong military bias will find sufficient inducement to remain with their regiments. No one, now, ever refuses a Staff appointment; he cannot lose, and he may gain by taking it. Hereafter, it is to be hoped, there will not be many more applicants for the lower class of appointments than there are vacancies, and a man's career, whether civil or military, will be very much within his own choice.

It may seem at first that our proposals involve changes which are almost revolutionary in character. Are men like Edwardes, or Eyre, or Turner, to be shut out for ever from military employment, because they have gone on the Staff during time of peace? Is every man who comes out to India in the Army to be called on to make a choice of this kind, which shall be irrevocable? There is not a barrackmaster or paymaster in the

* It is scarcely necessary again to remark that, to save repetition, we use the word "Staff" here and elsewhere in a special sense, to embrace every description of employment which is not strictly a military Staff appointment.

Army, who does not nourish an expectation of holding future brigade and divisional commands; and though it be a vague hope, and seldom realised, it yet serves to brighten his life, and to make his duties less irksome than they would otherwise be. Take away these chances, it may be said, and how dull and dreary would an Indian career be, passed in one of these subordinate and monotonous posts.

But it may be observed in the first place, with respect to those who hold high civil and diplomatic appointments, that these are in themselves very sufficient rewards for even distinguished talent; a man must not expect to have everything in this world, and these officers, have a great additional advantage in being allowed to receive military rank, increasing with service. Nor, with regard to the other cases mentioned, do we propose to enforce the retirement of the present incumbents. Our views are prospective, and those men now in the army will be still available for military service. And surely it is sufficient evidence of the necessity for reform, that when soldiers have earned distinction by their high qualities in the field, there is no better way of rewarding them than by setting them to make powder, or to turn wheel axles. There is no other army in the world where there obtains such an irrational way of rewarding military talent. We may hope the time is coming when such men may be properly provided for in a way to make their qualities better available for the service of the State, and the making of powder and gun carriages be given to the chemists and mechanics, of whom there are plenty in the army. Further, we may point out, that our plan is merely an extension of the arrangements actually now existing. So far from the army being now an open service, the different branches of it are strictly limited as regards the way of their being filled up. The Adjutant General's department, for instance, is practically confined to the infantry, and no Artillery or Engineer officer, no matter how great his natural aptitude for it, ever gets the command of irregular cavalry. On the other hand all Artillery appointments, even in local batteries, are invariably occupied by officers of that arm, and our sucking Vaubans must forego all chance of distinction in that line, unless they happen to belong to the Engineers. So that in fact the army is formed of a set of close services even now. Yet we do not perceive that its spirits generally are affected by this circumstance, and it is reasonable to suppose that men would soon become reconciled to the necessity of making choice between the two main branches into which the army would be divided. Indeed in all other respects the different parts of it would be much more open than they are at pre-

sent, since each branch of the service might be drawn upon for Staff officers to an unlimited extent; we might expect to see an officer from the Ordnance Corps occasionally employed in the Adjutant General's and Quarter Master General's departments, an innovation that might certainly be effective of much good in the latter, in which an acquaintance with the rudiments of surveying might be required from all serving in it, to much advantage.

We have now laid before our readers all the details of our scheme, and have considered all the effects of its operation; there are still one or two points in connection with it which deserve a few words of notice.

I. With regard to the regimental colonels of regiments. There is now one Colonel, non-effective, to every battalion of Artillery and Engineers, and every regiment of infantry and cavalry, who is at liberty to reside in England, and receives a fixed salary besides his military pay. The connection of these officers with their regiments being quite nominal, and the off-reckonings having been replaced by a fixed allowance, there is no reason why the number of Colonels should not remain as at present, irrespective of any diminution in the number of regiments, and it seems but fair that this provision for old officers, and reward for long service, should remain undiminished.

II. We conceive that it is highly desirable to abolish the 'line step' system of promotion to Lieutenant Colonel. On this system, as every one knows, all the Lieutenant Colonels and all the Majors of each branch of the service are kept in one general list. When a vacancy occurs among the former, the promotion does not belong to the Major of the regiment in which the vacancy occurred, but to the senior Major on the list (we refer to the infantry or cavalry,) who, as a general rule, is then transferred from his own regiment to command the other. The effect of this rule is of course to equalise the time passed as a Major, throughout the army, and (in the infantry) to make anything like a run of luck in getting through the grade impossible. We would therefore have the Lieutenant Colonel's, like the Major's step, to go in the regiment, the effect of which would of course be that some Majors would be a shorter, and some a longer time in that grade than is now generally the case; and thus there would be some younger Lieutenant Colonels than the present system renders possible, a result which all army reform should keep steadily in view. It would also be possible for regiments to buy out their Lieutenant Colonels, a way of quickening promotion without cost to the State which is now only practicable in the Artillery and Engineers. It is idle to talk

about the claims of seniority, and the injustice of supercession; seniority received its quietus in the war brevets. Had brevet rank been given only for really distinguished services in the field, there might have been some reason for considering them as special exceptions, and retaining the general rule of seniority. But when brevet promotion follows the mere accident of a man being present on a campaign, whether he does anything to deserve it or not; when Commissariat officers and Judge Advocates get brevets who were never under fire, nor exposed to danger of any kind, the seniority system is plainly broken up.* All that the present rules ensure is that a man shall not by any possibility have any great luck in *regimental* promotion; we would on the contrary afford to the regimental officer the chance of occasionally recovering the position he has lost, by others receiving brevets who are by no means necessarily more deserving than himself. At the same time we think it would be an improvement on what we have proposed, if instead of there being separate native infantry regiments with twenty officers in each, two or three, or even more regiments were joined together to form separate battalions of the same regiment, the officers being thrown into one general list, and posted to the different battalions, as is done in the Rifle regiments of the line. Such a system would probably be favourable to discipline, and would admit of a certain amount of selection for the command of battalions, without resorting to the present injurious practise of transferring Lieutenant Colonels bodily from one regiment to another.

III. No reorganisation would be complete which did not readjust the relative numbers of each grade of the officers of a regiment, and assimilate them more nearly in this respect to the regiments of the royal service. There are now in each regiment of native infantry, sixteen Subalterns to seven Captains and two Field officers; in the European regiments the number of each grade is double, the proportion remaining the same, while in the Artillery there are twenty-six Captains and Subalterns to two Field officers. But in the royal regiments, the proportion of Captains and Subalterns is only twelve and six respectively to two field officers, which places the local army at a serious disadvantage. The inequality, it must be observed, was not arbitrarily established, but has gradually arisen; when the establishment of the Indian Army was first established on its present footing, the proportion of the lower grades in the Royal regiments serving in India (and indeed in the

* We do not mean it to be implied that such brevets are unfair, this is quite a separate question, which we have nothing to do with here.

whole Royal army) was much larger than it is now; but while this proportion has been reduced, the regiments of the Indian service have been increased by a Subaltern and two Captains, which has still further increased the inequality in the two services; and while this continues, promotion must, *ceteris paribus*, be slower in the local army than in the line. Reorganisation to be satisfactory to the former should therefore remove this inequality. This might be done with regard to the native infantry by fixing the establishment of the twenty officers at two Field officers, six Captains and twelve Subalterns; and for the European regiments if fixed at four Field officers, twelve Captains and twenty-six Subalterns. Queen's regiments are constituted exactly as these last, except that there are only twenty-five Subalterns, the Quarter Master being non-effective. If the cost of such a change were made an objection to it, we would still advocate its adoption as far as the rank was concerned, but we should think this consideration would hardly have much weight when it is borne in mind that the pecuniary position of military men has been far from improving of late years. While pay has continued to be the same, there has been a steady rise of prices in every article, which is of course equivalent to a fall in the value of money. This rise does not affect persons engaged in trade, the money value of profits rising, as is well-known, in the same ratio, but it is severely felt by all annuitants, and persons paid by fixed salaries, and in time will appreciably diminish the value of Indian appointments in public estimation; meanwhile it is becoming every day more difficult to live on a small income, and this difficulty will not be diminished by the income tax. Sooner or later a rise of pay may undoubtedly be expected to follow a rise of prices, and no one can say that the equivalent to a slight rise of pay which the readjustment of grades would give, would be a very premature boon, irrespective of the claim which the army may be said to have, to be placed on an equality of advantages with the line.

IV. We have already alluded to the establishment of *depôts*, in proposing that each European infantry regiment should consist of twelve Captains and twenty-four Subalterns, and each Cavalry regiment of nine Captains and eighteen Subalterns. A proper system of *depôts* is essential for the thorough efficiency of a Colonial army. Every line regiment has, as we all know, twelve Captains and twelve Companies, of which ten are serving in India with the regiment and two are attached to the *depôt* battalion at home. The recruit of the royal service therefore feels himself to belong to his regiment from the first day of his enlistment. He comes at once under the care of his

own officers, and associates with the comrades in whose company he will pass his military life. When he embarks, his officers usually accompany him, and he marches up-country (after arrival in India) to join his regiment under their orders. Thus from his first day of service he feels himself to be a unit in the regimental economy, and not a mere abstract recruit. Very different is the recruiting system of the old Company, still perpetuated under the Government of the Crown. For the thirty thousand European troops of the Indian local army there is but one depôt, at Warley. Here there are sometimes as many as two thousand and even more recruits assembled, for the government of whom, at the time when soldiers most require to be well governed, there are actually only five officers, three of them being the permanent Staff of the depôt, and two orderly Subalterns who are changed every few months, and who in most cases have never before been associated with European troops. The duties that in every other army are performed by officers, are here performed by the permanent non-commissioned officers attached to the depôts, men who are, many of them, only soldiers in name, and bound by no regimental ties to those under them. The recruits trained under this system, if the modicum of drill bestowed at Warley can be said to constitute a training, are then sent on board ship, where they meet a set of officers whom they have never seen before, and who are in no measure selected for their experience with European troops, but who have applied for the duty simply to save themselves the expense of a passage to India. Finally, when the recruits arrive here, they are usually turned over to a fresh set of officers, often equally inexperienced and unacquainted with the duty, and until they join their regiments they have had little or no drill, and cannot be said to have been soldiers. In fact, in all recruiting arrangements, and in the effect which they have on the discipline of troops, the old Company's European Army is and always has been at an immense disadvantage. Not that there have been no improvements, but they have not kept pace with the improvements in the Royal army: what the system *used* to be, at the end of the last century, the following extracts from the correspondence of Lord Cornwallis will shew:

"If the British possessions in India are worth preserving, do not let us sacrifice them to the jobs of crimps, or to trifling jealousies and punctilios about King's and Company's troops. . . . The Company must have permission to raise recruits publicly; these recruits must be properly examined, and subjected to martial law, and placed under their own officers until the time of embarkation. (Cornwallis' Correspondence, Vol. I., p. 299.)"

"It is absolutely necessary that the East India Company should be permitted

ted to beat up publicly for recruits, and to keep them under martial law until the time of their embarkation. . . The principal object of the plan which I gave to you in London was, that the Company's troops should be better recruited, this is so essential a point that without it we can have only the name of an European Army. . . If an Act of Parliament could be obtained permitting the Company to beat up for recruits, and to keep them under martial law till their embarkation, and if some means could be adopted to establish equality of rank among King's and Company's officers, I believe I should be satisfied (Ib, vol. 1, p 247.) I have represented in the strongest terms the necessity of adopting some other mode of recruiting the Company's European troops (Vol 1, pp 310") .

Now things have altered a good deal since these abuses aroused the indignation of Lord Cornwallis; so far from the Company's recruits being inferior, we believe that their excellent quality has been fully admitted; so much so as to have called forth a serious remonstrance from the Horse Guards that it was not fair to pick all the best men for Warley; but a good deal of the old leaven remains. The Company were indeed allowed to beat up publicly for recruits, but the complaint of Lord Cornwallis that the latter were "not placed under the command of their own officers until the time of embarkation" still holds good, if by a soldier's 'own officers' we understand those of his own regiment. And there can be little doubt that a considerable degree of jealousy was always felt at the Company's recruiting establishment, and that Warley and all belonging to it, was kept as quiet and as much out of sight as possible. In fact when we consider how little care is taken of the young soldier during the commencement of his service, when first impressions are of such importance, and couple with this the baneful practise of constantly removing the Lieutenant Colonel from one regiment to another, by which he is prevented from becoming identified with the regiment he commands; and if we consider too, that all the best non-commissioned officers are drained off for Staff employments, it seems to us wonderful that the discipline of the local force is what we find it to be. We can only ascribe the result to the superior quality of the material supplied, which no one can help remarking who has seen any thing of the Horse Artillery, and remembers what a large proportion that arm bears to the whole local Army. Something is doubtless due, too, to the intelligence induced among officers by the exigencies of Indian service. But now that the Army belongs to the Queen there is no reason for keeping the recruiting establishment hid away in a corner, and good dépôts should be established forthwith. If the Army comes under the Horse Guards this will doubtless be done; if it remains a local force we would entreat the earnest attention of those in power to this reform, which is essential to the well being of the Army.

Depôts should be small, smaller than ordinary battalions; the recruits are constantly changing, and in a large dépôt the Commandant does not know the men, or get them well in hand. A dépôt should not, in our view, have more than six Companies, which would give one battalion for every six regiments of the local force. Each should have two field officers (there is always plenty of work for a Major at a dépôt) and a Captain and Subaltern from every regiment belonging to it, with the proper Staff; and all young officers posted to European regiments should join it on first appointment. These battalions might be placed in different parts of the United Kingdom, and if in small country towns so much the better; at any rate they should not be stationed at sinks of corruption like Chatham. The three Artillery Regiments would have their separate battalions, of strength proportioned to their respective sizes, which would be best placed at Woolwich, and the three might be commanded by a Colonel on the Staff. The Command and Staff appointments of these battalions might be held for a fixed time, say three years; the other officers would be appointed from officers on furlough, or from those sent home with invalids, and might stay a year at the dépôt, embarking in the summer with the recruits who had been trained under them. If no officers were available in England for the dépôt duty of any regiment, then some would be sent home on duty to join it, as is done now in Queen's regiments. The cavalry regiments would of course have a separate dépôt for themselves. For the proper inspection and supervision of the whole there would naturally be appointed an officer of rank from the local service, in communication with the Secretary of State for India.

A similar plan should be established for the dépôt non-commissioned officers. The practise which now obtains when a detachment of recruits leaves Warley, is, to select temporary non-commissioned officers from among the recruits, and as the lads chosen have had no previous experience of their duties, and know that they are to revert to the rank of private on joining their regiments in India, it is not surprising if they do not exert very much influence over their men, whose comrades and equals they are shortly again to become, and who will then be able to serve them out, as the phrase is, for any severity exercised during their brief tenure of office. On the other hand the non-commissioned officers at the dépôt are always stationary there, and they too often lose all the feelings of a soldier, and have got to look on the recruit as simply to be preyed upon. In place of these we would substitute the regular non-commissioned officers of the Army.

Those who go home on furlough under the rules lately announced, should be required to join and do duty at the dépôt after a certain amount of leave, whence they would return with the recruits for their regiments to India. Or if a sufficient number was not forthcoming in this way, then a supply should be sent home every year to take the place of those coming out. This would be an immense boon to the non-commissioned officers of the army, while the expense would be small, as many time-expired men whose passage has now to be paid for, would hold on in the service if they were allowed a run home to see their friends. But the great saving would be in the lives of the recruits if they were properly looked after. It would be very interesting, indeed, to enquire what is the annual loss on this account which might be saved by better management. This would be ascertained by comparing the average mortality in the local regiments with that of the overgrown ill-organised detachments of recruits which leave Calcutta yearly for the upper provinces. The difference, which we believe to be very considerable, may be put down to defective organisation.

In connection with the dépôts in England there should also be dépôts in India to receive the recruits on arrival. When these arrive late in the season, and their regiments are far up-country, they cannot always join before the following season. But even if the recruits can move on after only a short delay, it is most desirable that while halting they should come under well ordered discipline, and be thoroughly looked after; a detachment of recruits left to shift for themselves is exposed to great temptations in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. These dépôts would be precisely on the same scale as the English ones, and, which is very important, they should have a full staff of experienced medical officers. They would be conveniently located at Dum-Dum, Chinsurah and Raneegunge, and there would naturally be one for the Artillery at the first named station. It would follow, of course, that invalids and men going on furlough would also be stationed at the dépôts, previous to embarkation. The officers for all of the dépôts would be furnished from the effective strength of the regiments, and it is obvious that infantry regiment would have ten companies at head quarters, and one at each of the dépôts.

This concludes our proposals. The greatest reform of all, and the one which, if carried out, would do more than any thing else to effect the rest, we have not ventured to touch on. But with the promised abolition of the Supreme Council, and the substitution of responsible ministers of departments, we may hope to see the two offices of Minister of War and Commander-in-Chief

united into one, with the department of the Military Secretariat attached to it.

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While our article is in the press the news has arrived that amalgamation has been determined on, and amalgamation in its least inviting form. The European is to be separated from the native branch of the army, and a huge Staff Corps with all its faults is to be established. This at least appears to be the intention of the ministry, and if it be carried out, most of what we have written will become inapplicable, except to shew how ill-advised, even on technical, apart from political grounds, the measure is likely to be. But we have yet to learn the decision of the House of Commons, upon which after all the settlement of the matter rests, and from the indications that body has given of its opinions on the subject, it by no means follows as a matter of course that it will be favourable to the ministerial scheme.

ART. VIII.—*Indigo Cultivation in Bengal. Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal. Parts I. and II. 1860. Calcutta. 1856.*

WHEN the Indigo Commission was about to commence its enquiries, the Bengal Government published copious Selections from its correspondence, apparently with a view of presenting to the public all the facts in the possession of the authorities. Though we desire to avoid treating on the matters on which enquiry is pending, yet we deem the selected correspondence to be so important as to demand a notice in this *Review*.

A sudden and remarkable change has come over the rural population of Bengal. All at once they have asserted their independence. The ryot whom we were accustomed to class with the enduring Helot, or the Russian serf, whom we regarded as part and parcel of the land upon which he lived, the unresisting instrument of zemindars and planters, has at length been roused to action and has resolved to wear his chains no longer. The extraordinary feeling with which the rural population at this moment regard the system of Indigo planting as pursued in Lower Bengal, has produced in some localities an outburst unexpected by the most farseeing. Such symptoms, following so close on the events of 1857, cannot but exercise an important influence on the future of Bengal.

It is not our object at present to investigate the causes which have set the ryot against the cultivation he has so long carried on. It may be true that some oppression has been exercised by the planter upon the ryot; or possibly there may have been defective administration; or possibly some sinister influences may have been brought to bear on the agrarian population. Perhaps a variety of causes have existed in combination. At any rate it seems natural to conclude that the ryot would not have risen if he had not been discontented in some way or other, and that he would not have been thus discontented if he had obtained the full protection of the law. Other causes may have contributed to the present excitement, but into these causes it would be premature to enquire before the proceedings of the present Commission of Enquiry are closed.

In a former article written some 13 years ago in this *Review* there was given a detailed account of the system of Indigo Planting in Bengal. The planter was then at the height of his glory, the great man of the district, the terror of zemindars, the protector and the master of the ryot, placing himself above the law to-day, to-morrow dispensing summary justice after a

fashion of his own. The ryots, if not contented, were at any rate resigned, for submission is natural when resistance is hopeless. But of late years considerable inroads have been made upon the planter's prerogatives. The appointment of a separate Governor for Bengal has introduced into this long neglected province a degree of peace and order unknown in former years. Large districts have been sub-divided, and Magistrates placed in charge of each sub-division. Spots never visited by a Government official are now the head quarters of a Magistrate's Cutcherry. The planter, who was once regarded by the ryot as the sole source of justice and power, with whom the zemindar thought it madness to fight, and from whose fiat, as far as the ryot was concerned, there was neither appeal nor remedy, now finds a judicial authority established at his door which professes to give justice and protection to all. We can well imagine the dissatisfaction with which such an authority would not be unnaturally regarded by men, who had perhaps unconsciously imbibed the idea that justice was an article in which, by prescriptive right, they were entitled to a monopoly. In the Blue Book there is a very significant letter from a Mr. MacArthur upon this subject. Mr. MacArthur was an Indigo Planter in the district of Jessore, a district long notorious for affrays and the lawless character of the people. When Bengal was placed under a Governor of its own, this abnormal state of affairs attracted attention : and it was determined to sub-divide Jessore into small and convenient magisterial jurisdictions. The head quarters of one of their sub-divisions it was proposed to fix in the vicinity of one of Mr. MacArthur's factories. Mr. MacArthur objected both on public and private ground. The latter can best be described in Mr. MacArthur's own words :—

"My private reasons for objecting to the head quarters of the Sub-Division being at either Lohogurrah or Luckipassah may not appear so conclusive at first sight as those I urge upon public grounds, but it is fortunate for me that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor is so intimately acquainted with the native character, and their proneness to litigation when the means are at their doors, that I shall not have much difficulty in making myself understood. I will begin by stating, that should Luckipassah be the spot fixed upon, the station will be not more than a hundred yards from my factory of that name, and where I have a large ryotty cultivation of two thousand biggahs ; and again, should Lohogurrah be the spot fixed upon, that will be about a quarter of a mile from the same factory, about a mile from my factory of Amdanga, and not much more from another factory called Eranda. It will be observed that Mr. Molony, in his reply, states as his opinion that at either of the two localities the station would be "central for the whole of the Meergunge Concern." I do not know whether Mr. Molony writes ironically, but I should imagine he did, if he means that the neighbourhood of the station to the factories would be

beneficial to them, it is sufficiently well known to His Honor that the very reverse is the fact, for amongst a community notorious for their litigious propensities the greater facilities they have of going to Court the more frequently will they resort to it, and besides their own propensities in that way, the inducements which would be held out to the otherwise peaceably disposed, by needy and worthless Mooktears and other hangers-on about a Court, would be more than they could withstand; and the consequences, I can plainly see, would consist in one scene of petty litigation for imaginary or feigned wrongs on the part of the ryot, creating an unceasing war between him and the factory, to the entire eventual ruin of the latter, not to say to the detriment of the former. Where a ryot wished to evade or not to fulfil his engagement with the Planter, he had only in such a case to step in next door, file a petition on an eight annas' stamp and, as a matter of course, get an order to prevent the Planter in any way from molesting him, or interfering with his lands, supposing such a case to happen after a sowing shower, what would be the position of the planter? nothing short of ruin! for one successful case like this, and, any one acquainted with the Native character will at once see that every ryot would follow the example set to him, should his doing so benefit himself at the moment, either in a pecuniary point of view or to serve some one having a sinister design in harassing the Planter. Instances are not by any means wanting to prove that an Indigo factory and station cannot exist on the same spot, and the reason is not difficult to arrive at to any one acquainted with the Mofussil and with the entire absence of remedy to the Planter for breach of contract by the ryot. However just the Civil Courts may be in their decisions, the process is too tedious to be any remedy at all in such cases, for whilst the case is being litigated the factory is closed and the Planter ruined in consequence."

It appears that an Indigo factory and a Magistrate's Court cannot exist upon the same spot. This certainly did seem to be a strange representation for an Indigo planter to make to the Governor of a province. But to proceed to the sequel of the story. Some six months after these public and private objections were urged against the establishment of a sub-division, the following extraordinary case was brought to light. A complaint was preferred to the Magistrate against Mr. MacArthur, who was accused of having carried off and incarcerated Sheik Bolai and others. Search was made for the missing men but in vain. A month and a half elapsed: and the men were still in duress. One day the Magistrate, while on his way to pay Mr. MacArthur a visit, accidentally learnt that the missing men were in confinement in a godown or store-house close to Mr. MacArthur's house. The Magistrate went to the godown and found it locked. To gain admission was impossible. He kicked at the door and attracted attention; and Bolai and the others answered from within. The Magistrate acted with promptitude. He sent for Mr. MacArthur and demanded the keys. What says Mr. MacArthur, thinking no doubt that the Magistrate merely wished to ascertain how Her Majesty's—subject fared when incarcerated in a planter's manorial jail? Have you seen them?

No, says the Magistrate but I have heard them. But to cut the story short, the door was opened: and Sheik Bolai and three others were found inside. Sheik Bolai had incurred Mr. MacArthur's displeasure because having cultivated Indigo he had been compelled by adverse circumstances to leave the homestead of his father and abscond. The others appear to have been imprisoned because they refused to give evidence regarding an estate which Mr. MacArthur desired to possess, but which a neighbouring Zemindar had bought. Thereupon the Government remarked that this case afforded a practical comment on Mr. MacArthur's expressed opinion, that an Indigo factory and a Magistrate's Court cannot conveniently co-exist upon the same spot.

But Mr. MacArthur does not stand alone in his objections of sub-divisions. His brother planters apparently share his views upon this subject. From some cause or other, and we hope that the cause, whatever it may be, will be satisfactorily explained by the Commission of Enquiry now sitting, a vigorous officer in charge of a sub-division near a factory invariably commences by disorganizing the planter's manorial courts and throwing the operations of Indigo cultivation into confusion. We have a remarkable example of the truth of this assertion in the Blue Book before us.

Some years ago a new sub-division was established in the district of Nuddea: and Moulvie Abdool Luteef, a Deputy Magistrate, was placed in charge of it. The Moulvie appears to have been an energetic man, and desirous of proving himself to be an able Magistrate. But his advent to the district was productive of any thing but peace. The ryots of twelve villages finding that they were at length placed under the protection of the law, renounced in a body their connection with Indigo: and when the planters attempted to coerce them, in virtue of alleged contracts, they carried the dispute before the Magistrate. The planters on the other hand alleged a hostile and one-sided bias on the part of the Deputy Magistrate. They complained to Government of Bengal and succeeded in obtaining the Deputy Magistrate's removal.

This result of course strengthened temporarily the position of the planters. But there were many who questioned the justice of the charges laid against the Deputy Magistrate. It was said in his defence that he had only ordered the police to prevent the factory servants forcibly sowing land which had been devoted to other produce. Now the land is the ryot's own: this all admit. Therefore if the planter either himself trespassed upon the land, or sent his people there, he was

transgressing the law. If the planter sent his servant to coerce the ryot into sowing, he did an unlawful act, in that case, and the Deputy Magistrate would be bound to afford to the ryot the protection of the police: if on the other hand the planter had no intention of using coercion, what harm could be done by police being sent to the ryot's land. On this view of the matter the Deputy Magistrate does not appear to have transgressed the law. If the planter was not using force, the precautions taken by the Deputy Magistrate were merely unnecessary: if on the other hand force was being illegally applied, then the Deputy Magistrate would have failed in his duty if he had not sent his police to the spot. Be this as it may, the Government of the day summarily removed him from the district: and a summary removal is, in the eyes of a native, tantamount to disgrace. It would be almost superfluous to add that after the Deputy Magistrate's removal from the district, nothing more was heard of the ryots' complaint. An impression got abroad that Government had a pecuniary interest in the cultivation of Indigo, and that it was better to bear than complain.

If these facts are true, and they appear from the Blue Book to be correct, it would follow as a natural consequence that as soon as the ryots were disabused of these illusions, as soon as they felt sure of the protection of the law, they would at once renounce all connection with Indigo. There is a law of reaction in all things: and the amount of resistance which the ryot would offer to the planter, would depend upon the degree of coercion, whether physical or moral, which the planter had applied. This has actually happened. In that very sub-division, from which Abdool Luteef was ignominiously removed, the first show of resistance to the planters was made. The ryots were astonished to find that neither Government nor Government officials had any pecuniary interest in the matter; that Government merely insisted that those who took advances should fulfil their contracts, not that men should be forced to make contracts against their will. These tidings spread far and wide. The ryots were at first perplexed: the news was too strange to be true. In their perplexity they ran to the Missionaries, those self-denying men who by their zeal and charity have earned for themselves the lasting gratitude of the people. The Missionaries told them, and told them truly, that Government wished for their prosperity and left them to cultivate the crop which pleased them best. We all know the result. The ryots of one large district determined to cultivate Indigo no longer, to withstand the planters. The resolution of the ryots was as sudden as unexpected; Government, who had hitherto wisely

refused to interfere between a planter and his ryot, was now compelled to come forward and save the planting interest from irretrievable ruin. A special law was passed for the occasion, which almost makes the cultivation of Indigo for the present season compulsory. But in our opinion these extraordinary measures of Government were just and necessary. A great commercial calamity was impending: large sums of money had been invested by the planter in permanent buildings, and advances had also been given to ryots for the present season; and under the excitement which prevailed the ryots who had received advances were as unwilling to sow Indigo as those ryots who had received no advances at all. It is true that in many instances they pleaded that they had taken the advances under the impression that they had no voice or will in the matter, and that they were willing to pay back what they had received provided the contract into which they had been forced might be quashed. Whether there was truth or not in what the ryots urged, was beside the question,—but they had at any rate entered into their engagements in the usual manner and upon the usual understanding, and it was but fair to the planter to insist that the contracts, however entered into should not be summarily broken. The law has doubtless been made the engine of individual oppression, but it has answered the purpose for which it was made; it has saved a large section of the commercial community from ruin. To the ryot indeed it has been full of severity: loud and deep have been the ryot's complaints. But if its enactments are one-sided and unjust it is satisfactory to think they are at any rate merely temporary. The law will cease with the year in which it was framed. The Lieutenant Governor when proposing the law evidently felt that it would be impolitic and unjust to extend its operations beyond the present season. His reasons are clear and concise:—

“I think that no Law in the interest of the Planter could, at the present moment, be honestly proposed which should have any effect beyond the season now running on. We all of us know that the system is full of abuses. If we had never heard a word about Indigo planting since we arrived in India; if there was not upon record a single case of abuse, on the part of an Indigo Planter or a Zemindar (and in this respect I desire to draw no invidious distinction between one class and another), the mere fact of the existence of the present difficulty would in itself prove that the system is rotten, and that the rottenness consists in this, that in practice the Ryot is made to act like a slave, not like a free man. Under a wholesome and fair system of trade there must be in all dealings between two parties mutual gain, or at least the hope of mutual gain, and both parties to every dealing must be free agents. If, therefore, the Indigo Planting trade were in a wholesome and fair state, and an equal Law were practically applicable to the rich and to the poor in dealings between Planter and

Ryot, it is certain that the Ryot would be as much afraid of the manufacturer not buying his plant, as clamorous for a special Law on his side, as the manufacturer is afraid that the Ryot will not cultivate and supply him with enough of the plant, and clamorous for special Law on his side. We see that the present struggle on the part of the Ryots is to avoid the cultivation of Indigo. From this it is certain that Ryots who cultivate Indigo are forced to do so by illegitimate coercion. The same men who fight for the privilege of cultivating a field with Rice, for sale in the open market, are now almost in rebellion in order to escape the calamity of cultivating a field with Indigo for sale (if sale it can be called) to the Planter.

There must be a thorough inquiry into the whole system. There would have been such an inquiry long ago, I believe, if people had not been afraid of bringing on such a crisis as has now occurred. The system was such that sooner or later a crisis was certain, it has now come in the natural course of things, and there is no longer an excuse for shirking the disclosure of the disease, and the application of the remedy. For these reasons I could recommend no Law other than a temporary Law, and no Law of any sort unless its promulgation to the Ryots may be accompanied with a promise of full and thorough enquiry into past practice, and thereafter of a well considered Law which shall afford practically equal and complete protection to the Ryots as well as to the Planter."

If these principles, which, though ignored in India, sound very much like truisms to English ears, had been fairly acted up to by the planter, we should have been saved the calamity of the present crisis. No system which is not founded upon natural principles can last long. Sooner or later it must tumble to pieces. In all our dealings with our fellow men honesty is the best policy. Indigo planting is no exception to the rule. Indigo planting can never thrive unless the cultivator reaps proportionally from the cultivation the same advantage as the planter. If it is not all profit to the planter and all loss to the ryot, the ryot will be as eager to cultivate, as the planter to buy.

At present we have studiously avoided noticing the particular charges which are brought against Indigo planters in general. We feel confident that those charges have been grossly exaggerated, and that the misconduct of a few (we hope a very few) individuals has been unwillingly attributed to the body at large. But the general review which we have taken of the subject can lead to but one conclusion,—that the ryot is averse to Indigo because it is to him a losing crop. In this conclusion there can be no mistake. Even planters themselves admit that the crop is unprofitable to the ryot. The following extract from the Blue Book, written by a gentleman who was formerly a planter, will explain some of the grounds on which that conclusion rests.

"The Ryot gets a nominal advance of 2 Rupees per beegah. I say nominal, because, after he has made the usual present to the Amlah, &c, there is very little of the 2 Rupees left, but say he gets his 2 Rupees, at the end of a good season his account per beegah would stand so.—

A beegah of the very best plant, 20 bundles, at 5 bundles for the Rupee .. ' Rs.					4	0	0
Deduct expenses incurred by Ryot in cultivating that same beegah—							
Stamp Paper	...	...	...	0	2	0	
1. Seed	..	...	...	0	10	0	
2. Five Ploughs	...	...	...	0	10	0	
3. Sowing charges	..	...	...	0	3	0	
Weeding ditto	...	...	...	0	6	0	
4. Cutting ditto	..	...	...	0	4	0	
5. Rent of Land	..	...	...	1	0	0	
					<hr/>		
						3	3
					<hr/>		
6. Balance in favour of Ryot	...	...	...			0	13
					<hr/>		
						0	13

It must not however be supposed for a moment that the Ryot receives these thirteen annas. Having been paid four Rupees for his plant, the Amlah are entitled to two annas on each Rupee, which reduces his profits to five annas, and from this he has still to fee the Ameen, Kalashee, &c."

The above appears to be not an unfavorable calculation. The ryot is supposed to get the whole of his advance. No deduction is made for outstanding balances, balances perhaps outstanding from the time of the ryot's grandfather, and which have been statute run for years. No deduction is made for fees to the planter's Amlah; and not only does the ryot, in the above calculation, receive *bonâ fide* his two Rupees, but he is credited with 20 bundles to the beegah; whereas the average number is at the outside ten. But admitting the above calculation to be correct, we find that even under the most favourable circumstances Indigo is a losing crop to the ryot. With this fact established and admitted we need not go out of our way to charge Indigo planters with those oppressions with which they have been occasionally charged. If the crop is not remunerative to the cultivator, it must be more or less a forced crop; and if a forced crop then the term itself implies coercion and oppression, a forced crop can only be cultivated so long as the cultivator is not a free agent: in other words so long as the administrator of justice does not afford sure and equal protection to all. But give the cultivator protection, make him feel as he ought to feel,—that he is a free agent, and a check is immediately imposed on a system which has been solely maintained by the exercise of power. This again leads us to the conclusion, at which we before arrived, that the present crisis is a natural one: and has resulted solely from better administration of justice in the interior, from the reforms which a vigorous executive is rapidly introducing and from the greater security to life and property consequent thereupon. But it must not how-

ever be supposed that this crisis has come upon us suddenly. Far otherwise. For many years a little cloud like a man's hand has been looming in the horizon of Bengal. As long ago as 1856 the Missionaries forewarned us of the coming danger. At a Missionary Conference which was that year held, the Rev. G. C. Cuthbert made the following remarkable statement:—

"He had lived in an Indigo factory for twelve months in the Krishnaghur district. He had found the Planters most hospitable and kind; but all that he saw gave him the conviction that the system is a forced system, and is stained with oppression and cruelty. On the other side the Planters have their replies. They say, We have the worst class of people to deal with; we must fight them with their own weapons, which include lying, chicanery and deceit of every kind. The underlings say, We must do what we are required to do; many men of good principles, and many religious men have engaged in it. The headmen say, What else can we do? We must cultivate Indigo, and we cannot do so, unless we do it in this way. Again, many of the younger men really do not know all that is going on, and all that is done in their name. The ryot never makes any thing of his crop. If he has too many bundles of Indigo, the sircar quietly puts some of them to his own credit. He had never heard but of one thoroughly Christian man remaining in it; and he was ruined."

In another place Mr. Cuthbert gives a most touching account of an interview he had with the simple uncomplaining ryots:—

"I have already mentioned my residence for near a twelvemonth at an Indigo Factory. There I saw the best of the system, and heard all that was to be said,—and a good deal can be said—in its behalf, by able and candid men engaged in it. This was some ten years ago. Since that time it has been my duty to make a sort of official visit annually to the Krishnaghur district, and occasional ones to other parts of the country. And it has been my lot, year after year, to hear much that was distressing to hear both from my Missionary friends themselves, and from the poor people also, who knowing that I was friendly towards them, and hearing that I had some sort of official position amongst the Missionaries, and lived at the seat of Government in Calcutta, imagined they had some chance of getting their grievances known and redressed by coming and telling them to me. And when, after hearing tale after tale of sad injustice and suffering, attested by the Missionary from his own personal knowledge, I have had to say to the poor people, "I can do nothing for you," I must confess I felt a sort of shame at their reply,—“But you live in Calcutta, and is not the Lord Saheb there, and can you not go and tell it to him?” It was painful to have to repeat to them, that the Lord Saheb himself could scarcely help them. They could with difficulty believe one, for in their view, too simple and too correct for our artificial and cumbrous system of government, the chief ruler should be ready to hear the prayer and at once right the wrongs of the poor and friendless under his authority. I have frequently on such occasions seen, sometimes their shrewd glance of incredulity, and sometimes their blank look of disappointment and dejection; and have, with a sad heart, thought of those touching words of Holy Writ,—*Eccles. iv. 1.* “*So I returned and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun: and, behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter.*”

With regard to this system of Indigo planting Mr. Cuthbert observes. "The planter's haste to be rich must be ranked among the causes of the evils of the system he works. If as the Scripture says, our love of money is the root of all evil, we may trace to it many of the bitter fruits of the Indigo system in Bengal. If the planter were content with moderate gains and a more gradual progress to independence, much of the hardship we refer to need not, we are assured, occur. But in aiming at the largest possible gains he too often forgets in his haste how cruelly he may be trampling on the interest of others. I have heard it said that in ordinary years Indigo cultivation may be made to yield a profit of 25 per cent. without oppression or injustice to the ryot, and that it is because much higher profits are aimed at that the hardships we refer to are inflicted."

Two great remedial measures among others of less importance suggested themselves to Mr. Cuthbert's mind.

1. A great augmentation of the Magistracy, so as to bring protection and justice near to the ryot's door.

2. A Commission of Enquiry into the state and effect of the existing relations between the Ryots and the Indigo Planters and Zemindars of Bengal.

From the day these propositions were made, the system of Indigo planting has been in danger. The number of Magistrates has been largely augmented; and as protection and justice have been brought nearer and nearer to the ryot's door, the difficulties of the Indigo planter have increased. Unfortunately the planter has been unable or unwilling to read the signs of the times. A heaven-sent fatality seems to have blinded his eyes: and instead of attempting to reform the abuses of the system, he has attempted to perpetuate them: instead of interesting the ryot in the cultivation of Indigo by giving him a fair share in the profit of the crops, he has, like the Egyptian of old, forced him to cultivation by placing over him taskmasters exacting and severe; and instead of profiting by the friendly warning of the missionaries and others, he has adopted the questionable course of abusing through inflammatory publications, those disinterested men who have ever stood forth as the pioneers of progress and the promoter of the ryot's welfare. Every device which ingenuity could frame has been adopted to influence public opinion. We have had meetings and indignant resolutions in abundance. As the administration of the country has been improving, and as the protection of the law has been gradually extended to all, we have been incessantly assailed with complaints of the prejudices of Magistrates, of the corruption of the police, of the mal-administration of jus-

tice: as if forsooth a system so radically vicious as the Indigo system, could flourish in any atmosphere but an atmosphere of injustice and corruption. Indeed the very difficulties which planters now experience may be taken as a conclusive proof of the improved administration of the country.

But what are these difficulties? The great difficulty appears to be this; the ryots where they can get protection, will not cultivate a crop which to them is all loss and no profit. This at least is what a certain planter of some eminence, Mr. Prestwich, whose name figures in the Blue Book, tells us. The papers relating to this gentleman are very interesting, and form a picture in themselves. There we find Mr. Prestwich, the man of experience, (experience and a knowledge of the people we ought to observe are qualities which the planters always claim to possess) the Honourable Ashley Eden, the prejudiced Magistrate, Messrs. Mundle & Co., the contract breaking ryots, and in the back ground we find deceitful Zemindars and corrupt Omlahs. But before we can bring these interesting characters on the stage, it will be necessary to make a slight digression, and to give for the benefit of the uninitiated reader a brief sketch of the manner in which advances are distributed to the ryots. The following extract is from the Blue Book in which we have substituted Hindoostanee for their corresponding English terms:—

“Immediately a planter gets the lease of a village, his principal object is to ascertain how many ploughs it contains and for every plough which a villager has he is compelled to cultivate two beegahs of Indigo. Of course if he sent his servants from house to house to ascertain how many ploughs each ryot possessed, the return would be erroneous, and much below the correct number, for the ploughs would be concealed at the bottom of tanks or sent away to some adjacent village, or disposed of in some other way till the enquiry ceased, then at the time of ploughing and sowing, when they could be reproduced, a few annas judiciously spent would effectually blind the factory servants. The planter knowing this adopts a certain and satisfactory means of obtaining the information he requires by at once seizing and bringing into the factory the village Blacksmith. He of course has had the making and repairing of every ploughshare in the village, is paid annually a certain sum by each ryot, (in money or grain) for every plough in all throughout the year, and can tell exactly how many each man has.

The information relative to the ploughs being obtained the ryots are sent for and an advance of 2 Rupees per beegah, at the rate of at least two beegahs (and sometimes six beegahs) per plough is made them; their signature, if they can write, (if not they singly touch the pen) is taken to a blank stamp paper, and the factory servants then go to the fields and put the factory mark on the best lands (unless bribes) and which may have been reserved and manured for months for the cultivation of a remunerative crop, and certainly not for Indigo which cannot pay.”

This slight digression will enable us the better to understand Mr. Prestwich's case: which as far as possible we will state in that

gentleman's words. In 1853 Mr. Prestwich purchased an Indigo concern in the district of Bârasset. When purchased there was a cultivation of upwards of 16,000 beegahs for the purposes of the factory. To insure the better working of the concern Mr. Prestwich took a lease of a pergunnah in a large manor comprising a number of villages, in the neighbourhood of his factory. By taking this estate he incurred an annual loss of 6,000 Rs. a year: in other words his collections from the cultivators were 6,000 Rs. a year less than the annual rent which he, the middleman, paid to the landlord. After taking the lease he found to his indignation and surprise that the ryots would not sow Indigo. A man who could do so questionable an act as to take a farm at an annual loss of 600*l.* a year, apparently in order to obtain the influence of a landlord over the ryots, would not be very likely to trouble himself with his ryot's complaints, or to enquire whether the crop was remunerative or not to them.

This appears to have been the case with Mr. Prestwich. Instead of redressing the ryot's grievances, and offering to pay them a remunerative price for their crop, he attempted to add the terrors of the law to the influence of the middleman. He requested Mr. Eden, the Magistrate, to *compel* the attendance of the ryots at the factory. This Mr. Eden declined to do. Finding that Mr. Eden would not accommodate the law to the supposed requirements of the case, Mr. Prestwich posted down to Calcutta and sought an interview with the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. A strange scene this interview must have been. The middleman who does not hesitate to avow that he pays six hundred pounds a year to procure the influence of a landlord over the ryots, had considered himself justified in requesting that the Hon'ble Mr. Eden might be removed from his post for not concurring with the factory in the interpretation of the law. But this was not the only charge brought against Mr. Eden. It was currently believed that he was in some way or other connected with the press: and to accuse him of writing in the papers was in Mr. Prestwich's opinion the most damaging accusation he could bring. Does then Mr. Prestwich consider the tone of the Indian press to be so objectionable that no respectable man can write in the papers without incurring disgrace? Are the Indian papers like pitch which no man can touch without blackening his fingers? Or on the other hand have Mr. Prestwich and his party so long enjoyed a monopoly of the papers that they cannot tolerate a brother near the throne? Are we never to hear but one side of the question? Do not the doctrines applied by Mr. Prestwich to Mr. Eden in this matter, rather strike at the liberty of the Press? Upon these charges being preferred the Lieutenant

Governor sent for Mr. Eden and confronted him with his accuser. The result was not satisfactory to Mr. Prestwich. In Mr. Eden's presence both sides of the case became manifest. Mr. Prestwich was mildly told by the Governor that he had "looked for such assistance as Mr. Eden could neither justly nor legally afford: and that he appeared to be by no means fully informed as to his own legal rights as a planter, or as to the true limits of a Magistrate's jurisdiction." But this reply did not satisfy Mr. Prestwich. He again applied for the interference of Government: and received from the present Lieutenant Governor the following reply: -

"The Lieutenant-Governor is sorry that it is out of the power of Government or of its Officers to assist you in this affair. But it is manifest that the only legitimate course is, to make it for the Ryots' interests to consent to cultivate Indigo for you, and to make them see that it is so. The Government Officers must leave both parties freely to make their own bargains, as may best suit their own interests, neither encouraging nor discouraging one sort of cultivation more than another."

Mr. Prestwich's opinions derive some importance from the fact that he is in some respects a representative man. It was too at Mr. Prestwich's factory some two years ago that the *Times'* correspondent, with a clairvoyance which the itinerant special Commissioners of the leading journals alone possess, acquired in the course of a two days' visit, those profound views on the subject of Indigo planting which he afterwards promulgated in the columns of the *Times*. Mr. Prestwich therefore became for the nonce the mirror of the "high" Indigo system. The system which he pursues is the system which planters in all Bengal pursue. The interests of the cultivator are not particularly regarded. The planters deal with the Zemindars not with the ryots. Instead of saying to the ryot, cultivate Indigo and you will get a good price at the factory for as much as you can grow: they say to the Zemindar, you have upon such a manor 1,000 head of ryots: if you, their natural protector, will hand them over to me, you shall receive 600 pounds a year over and above your actual collections.

The planters plead that they have to pay so much to obtain this proprietary right, that they cannot afford to pay to the ryot a remunerative price for his crop. But can this be urged as a plea? The plain facts are these. No ryot willingly cultivates Indigo, because it is a losing crop; the ryots on a planter's estate must cultivate, they have no option in the matter: but the ryots on a neighbouring Zemindar's estates, are, as far as the planters is concerned, free agents, and will never, at least in Suburban districts, grow a stalk of Indigo until the Zemindar has handed them over to the planter. It is

an extraordinary plea therefore to urge that this sale renders it impossible for the planter to act justly by the ryot.

It is to be regretted that some of the Indigo planters have been so blind to their own interests as to persist in a system which must eventually involve them in trouble. It is unfortunate that they have not imitated the simple policy which Government has pursued with reference to the opium cultivators of Behar. In 1855-56, 406,394 beeghas of land were devoted in that province to opium cultivation. The season was unpropitious; and many ryots, if not absolutely losers, at any rate gained but little. The opium cultivation lost much of its popularity. The price of paddy and other crops had risen, and the ryots considered that they could realize greater profits by giving up opium for other products. The natural result ensued. In the following year there was a decrease in the cultivation of opium in Behar of 25,491 beeghas. Under such circumstances what were the Government agents to do? They could not resort to intimidation. They had no club men, with whom to coerce the ryot: no fund for purchasing the proprietary rights of the Zemindar. They could not threaten to prosecute the ryots for outstanding balances of former years; for the Government insisted upon the agents correctly squaring their accounts year by year. The only hold they had upon the ryot was the interest of the ryot himself. The only course therefore for the opium agent to adopt, was at once adopted; they raised the price of opium and made it worth the ryots while to cultivate. If the planters had bethought themselves of adopting this single remedy many of them might have been spared their present troubles. We only hope that the example may produce its effect, while there is yet time for amendment. There is one part of the system of Indigo planting upon which we have not yet touched, we mean the system of advances, under which the cultivation of Indigo is carried on. One of the great complaints of the planter is, that the ryot after receiving his advances almost invariably tries to repudiate his engagement. If this is correct it is but natural to infer that there is something distasteful to the ryot in the advance system itself. It is true indeed that loans are frequently made by Mahajuns on the security of other incoming crops; and that we never hear of the Mahajun complaining that the ryot will not sow his rice, his jute or his tobacco; on the contrary the ryots generally fulfil their contracts without being compelled to do so by bands of armed men, or by Zemindars who may be interested in the cultivation. It may however be asked, whether, practically, advances for Indigo differ from advances for other crops. We are not speaking of

advances forced upon unwilling cultivators, for contracts dependant upon such advances are no contracts at all. To every contract there must be two contracting parties, and it would be absurd to represent a man contracting to do that which he has been compelled to do. Leaving therefore the so-called contracts out of the question, it remains to be seen what class of ryots voluntarily enter into contracts for Indigo, and what precautions are taken by the planter to ensure the recovery of the money advanced.

As Indigo is to the ryot a losing crop, and as no ryot therefore undertakes that cultivation if he can help it, it would follow that no ryot could voluntarily take advances if he could obtain money elsewhere. No man goes to a Jew so long as he has credit at his bankers: but when credit with the banker has gone, needy and necessitous men are compelled to resort to Mr. Premium. In the Blue Book we are told that "miserable and destitute villagers when in distress go to the factories and beg for advances, fully resolved when the time for sowing comes, to evade any contract they may make." The usurious Mahajun will give no advances to these men. They have no security to offer. They have no prospect of repaying what they borrow: they are already hopelessly in debt. Debts contracted by them are like debts contracted by one gambler with another. If therefore the planter chooses to give advances to men of this description, knowing not only that they have no security to offer, but that they intend to repudiate their engagement, he can hardly be astonished at the consequences, especially when it is remembered that even the best administered laws must fail to extract substantial satisfaction from such parties as these.

There is another part also of the subject of advances which demands most sincere attention. It would appear that, practically, the liabilities incurred by the fathers descend to the children of the third and fourth generations. This much the planters themselves admit; and therefore we need have no hesitation in mentioning it. A father dies some 80 or 90 Rupees in debt to the factory: he leaves behind him a son and some five Rupees worth of property. The planter may be entitled to whatever property the father left; but he has no claim upon the *services* of the son. But still the planter debits, in his books, the son with the whole of his father's debt. Those who are conversant with history know full well to what dangers these things may lead. Debt accumulating from father to son, from son to grandson, until the cup of endurance is full, has ere this reduced a quiet and unoffending people to despair. But we need not travel over the pages of history; we have an example at our doors. The rapa-

city of the Mahajun, drove the Sonthals to rebel. Let the planters profit by the warning, lest exactions of a similar nature should arouse rebellious feelings in the hearts of Bengal ryots.

In all that we have written we have studiously avoided touching upon any points which admitted of dispute. The conclusions which we have drawn, are whether right or wrong, drawn from facts which the planters admit, and which are proved from the official papers under review. Bishop Whately has somewhere remarked that half the errors ~~into~~ to which men fall arise from inattention to the rule of logic, from a neglect to draw from admitted premises, correct conclusions. This remark particularly applies to Indigo. The planter acknowledges that Indigo is not a paying crop to the ryot, and that the ryot for some reason or other is averse to cultivate it, and arrives at the conclusion that there would be no difficulties in the way of Indigo cultivation with an unprejudiced Magistrate, and a friendly Zemindar. But do these gentlemen mean that the Magistrate "must compel the attendance of the ryot at the factory" as Mr. Prestwich requested Mr. Eden to do; or look quietly on, while the planter adopts his own measures for enforcing what he considers his rights: and that the Zemindar must calmly see his ryot drawn into losing contracts, and his rent jeopardized if any impoverishment should ensue. We would fain hope however that such cannot be the meaning of unprejudiced Magistrates and friendly Zemindars.

But we draw from the above premises a far simpler conclusion. The crop does not remunerate the ryot and he is unwilling to cultivate it. The difficulty is a simple one; and the remedy apparent. Pay the ryot a good price for his commodity and make him feel that it is for his advantage to cultivate. Appeal to the ryot's self-interest and there will be no need to appeal to the Magistrate; nor to obtain justice by troublesome lawsuits; nor to exercise a severe supervision over the ryots; nor to win over opposing Zemindars by bonuses and douceurs.

It has often been asserted by Indigo planters that the ryots in Indigo districts are far better off than the ryots elsewhere. In other words that ryots who are compelled to devote a large portion of their land to Indigo, an unremunerative crop, are far better off than other ryots who devote the whole of their land to remunerative production. If this assertion is correct either there must be some great collateral advantages or else we shall have established an interesting topic of enquiry for political economists. But it will be sufficient for us to leave theory alone and to deal with facts. The present high prices of rice, jute, sugarcane and other productions, have naturally introduced

into the districts where those products are grown, an unprecedented degree of prosperity, among the agricultural classes. There are cattle in abundance in the cow house; and scarcely a ryot who has not a year's stock of rice in store. Let us now turn from this bright picture where all is prosperity and contentment, and look at the description of one Indigo district as given by a planter himself:—

“In this country, and especially in an Indigo District, an Englishman comes in collision with petty interests altogether opposed to European enterprise, every effort is made to place him in a false position, and Ryots often set up to assume independent action against him, who know not the meaning of the terms, and who are little better than slaves to their Mahajuns. At present, from the high price of everything, the necessities of life are procured with difficulty by the mass of the people, and a small Talookdar or Mahajun, who supplies the Ryots with food, sometimes compels them to act against the Planter, whose crop interferes with others they wish the Ryot to grow”

In one district we see the ryot with bullocks in his cowshed and a year's stock of rice in his store house; in the other the ryot, the grower of the crop, is dependent upon money-lenders and traders for the daily necessities of life. How the case may be in other Indigo districts we cannot at the present time pronounce. But in that district where so large a portion of an Indigo ryot's land, labour and time is devoted to a crop which profits him nothing, no collateral advantages appear to have counterbalanced the disadvantages.

It is remarkable too, that it is only in well cultivated districts, where land is scarce, that Indigo is grown. In districts where land is plentiful Indigo cultivation is almost unknown. The reason is obvious. In a thickly populated district the ryot cannot change his homestead when he wishes; land is scarce and the demand for land is greater than the supply. He is moreover naturally attached to the spot where his fathers lived and died. Under such circumstances, direct necessity will alone drive him from his home, but in newly cultivated districts the case is widely different. Ryots are then at a premium, land at a discount. The great aim of the landholders is to induce ryots to settle upon their estates, and this they can only effect by treating them with kindness, consideration and justice. If the landlord attempts oppression, the ryots leave at once, they pack up their goods and chattels on their oxen, and are off. The whole land is before them, and neighbouring landlords are glad enough to welcome them. In such estates an oppressive landlord would be ruined: tyranny would be downright madness. It is to be observed that in such wide wastes of country as Backergunge, the Sunderbuns and Dinagapore, which are rapidly being

brought into cultivation, not a stalk of Indigo is grown as yet. When land is waste and labour scarce, the tenant may be sure that he will experience from his landlord nothing but consideration, kindness and justice. And certainly he could never be compelled to cultivate a losing crop.

But we have already said enough to show that there are abuses in the system of Indigo planting which it will be for the advantage of all to reform. The planter is no less interested in the matter than the ryot. The whole system is antiquated and out of date. The Bengal of to-day with its railroads, its telegraphs, its improved administration, is not the Bengal of 40 years ago. In those feudal times when affrays were of daily occurrence, when the weak were the prey of the strong, and the law was impotent to protect the oppressed against his oppressor, it was natural for the poor and helpless to look out for some powerful landlord under the shadow of whose wing they might rise up and lie down in peace and safety. Secure from aggression from without, it was natural too that they should make some return for the protection or, to use the accepted phrase, the collateral advantages, they enjoyed. The return demanded by the planter was that each ryot should sow a certain proportion of his land with Indigo and sell it to the factory at a fixed price. Thus was the collateral advantage tax which each ryot was compelled to pay. It is obvious that such a tax can only be tolerated in the rudest stages of society, and that those who pay the tax are the best judges of the necessity of its continuance. The ryots are of opinion that the time for its abolition has arrived. They are satisfied with the protection afforded by the law. In every division there are now police battalions to overawe the strong and to protect the weak: and through every district there are scattered, Magistrates, at whose tribunals the poorest man can readily obtain redress. The present therefore seems a most favourable opportunity for introducing some salutary reforms into the system, and for placing the cultivation of Indigo upon a sound and healthy footing. At any rate something must be done. However great these collateral advantages may be, the ryot in many places has ceased to appreciate them: while justly or unjustly he complains that the cultivation of Indigo is attended with nothing but vexation and loss. We have too high an opinion of the good sense of the English planters to think that they would wish the cultivation of Indigo to be carried on by dissatisfied and discontented ryots. What good man would wish, when riding over his estate, to be met with averted faces and gloomy looks; and what sacrifices would he not be prepared to undergo to see around him a thriving, prosperous, grateful

and contented peasantry. •What immense good would not such a man with his Christian knowledge and European civilization effect? And many men of this description there must be among so important a class as the planters of Bengal. It is impossible that they who are justly celebrated for their open heartedness, their liberality, their courage, their energy, can be deficient in the equally manly virtues of justice, honesty and truth. Loud as have been occasionally the complaints against Indigo planters as a body, it is only against the planter in his connection with a particular system of cultivating Indigo that their complaints have been made. In all other walks of life the conduct of the planters seems correct; they are neither cruel masters nor unjust landlords; they are forward, (at least many of them are forward) in their desire to ameliorate the condition of those around them; they distribute medicine to the sick and relief to the poor, and with no niggard hand they supply contributions for the support of hospitals and schools. Government officials, while condemning the system under which the cultivation of Indigo is carried on, almost invariably speak of the planter himself in the language of affection and esteem. One Commissioner, who is deservedly beloved by the natives and respected by every one, writes as follows. "Formerly the unwilling ryots were compelled to cultivate by the fear of violence; then it was found better to pay the Zemindar; now it is thought that the Magistrate will be cheaper than either; but I trust no law will ever be passed to increase the profits of Indigo planting by oppressing still more those who suffer enough already. I have had many intimate and most esteemed friends among the planters, and have some still, and I like them as a class. I know that they do not believe that the ryot is unfairly treated, and it was with no pleasure that I long ago found myself forced to come to that conclusion." A Magistrate writes,—"I cannot help thinking that the cheap justice at every man's door, which Indigo planters are always calling for, would in a short time almost entirely destroy the whole present system of cultivation. I most readily however acquit the majority of European planters of any active participation in the oppression which goes on under the authority of their names: but they know they must wink at it to a certain extent."

Another Magistrate writes;—"The general tone of the planter has improved of late years and the present body contains men of higher principle." Another Commissioner writes;—"It is *not* the overbearing character of the European which leads him to resort to violence to protect his interest in the cultivation of Indigo, but the peculiar nature of that cultivation. Euro-

peans are engaged all over the country in agricultural pursuits, but I never heard it said of them that they were more prone to violence than other classes." Another Commissioner in an official letter expresses "the kindest feelings towards many honourable Indigo planters." A judge writes;—"The ryot receives a fair remuneration, *so far as the planter himself is aware*, but it passes through so many hands that by the time it reaches the party entitled to it, it is so shorn of its proportions." Another judge writes;—"I quite admit that the body of planters contains gentlemen of excellent principles and conduct, who would not abuse privileges given them, but they have generally to entrust their affairs to a very licentious and unscrupulous class of natives." Another judge writes;—"Planters, *who are also Zemindars*, have two things to look to, their Indigo and their ryots. These are the men to whom we may look to be real blessings to the country, for their interest, as proprietors of the land, makes them careful to protect the ryots, and they cannot push Indigo cultivation to a ruinous extent as regards the ryots, without suffering in a like degree themselves." Another Magistrate writes;—"I believe the planters to be a far more enlightened and superior class of men than were in existence when the former Act was passed (30 years ago)."

The testimony of unofficial witnesses is to the same purport. The following is an extract from an interesting work written by a gentleman who is perhaps more celebrated for his pencil than his pen.

"The fact is that up to that time, now about twenty-four years ago, the conduct of Indigo planters had been pictured in no pleasing colors, and in too many instances, no doubt, with good cause. A very different class of persons, I believe, were then to be found in charge of factories from those generally existing in the same position now, and bad conduct is always more prominent than good. Hence, as

The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones,

the worst side of the picture was the better known, and, of course, far better it should be so, or there would be no correction. The government inquiry drew forth an innumerable host of reports—a mere epitome of which half fills a volume. They embraced not only the conduct of planters, but the question of the effects which the cultivation of Indigo had produced on the interests of the people. These reports expressed a variety of opinions; as touching the planters—preponderating in their

‘favour. On the one hand they were accused of adopting unjustifiable means of obtaining, at the smallest possible cost, all the Indigo which they were capable of manufacturing,—of driving hard bargains with the ryots—of taking advantage of their wants, their weakness, or cupidity, and occasionally, when necessary, using force—or by some means compelling ryots to enter into Indigo engagements; to which may be added the more justifiable and bitter complaints against the extortions and oppression of the Amia, or Factory servants. On the other hand, the planters obtained credit for being held in much esteem by the natives, for being constantly called upon to arbitrate, in disputes between relatives and neighbours,—frequently dispensing medicine to the sick—advice to those in difficulty—pecuniary aid to those in need on the occasion of family events, which would otherwise involve them for life with native money-lenders,—and for their never-failing acquiescence in the wants and wishes of their poor neighbours, and thus exalting their character of the British name, and so forth. With reference to the cultivation of the Indigo itself, the report indicated that the favor or aversion of the natives seemed to vary with the locality; for whilst we are told that ‘instances are adduced by the Governor General in Council, in their Revenue Letter, 1st January 1830, of great eagerness on the part of ryots to induce planters to settle in their respective neighbourhoods,’—others elsewhere are represented as being altogether averse to it.”

The above sketches give, we think, a very fair picture of the character of the English planter. His virtues are his own, his faults are inherent in the system of which he is the victim. The system therefore must in some respects be changed, it is impossible to perpetuate it. It is true that at present it is only in some districts that this aversion to Indigo has been demonstratively shown, but we may rest assured that if the crop is not a remunerative one, the ryot will throw up the cultivation as soon as he feels that he can do so with safety. Let us therefore anticipate the crisis. It is better by a timely reform to concede a little, than to be forced eventually to relinquish much. Timely reforms are amicable arrangements between one friend and another; late reforms are reluctant concessions wrung from a vanquished enemy; the first are made with the wisdom of deliberation, the latter are made under the excited feelings of injury and revenge. In such a state we know how difficult it is to induce men to listen to the voice of reason. We have seen this exemplified in the present crisis. Under the new and temporary summary law which makes the breach of contract a misdemea-

nour, a number of ryots had been thrown into jail, their houses, their property, their cattle, even their ploughs had been sold ; their families had been cast out homeless and beggars upon the face of the land ; wives had been separated from their husbands, mothers from their sons ; the one was destitute alike of shelter, food and clothing, the other had a convict's shelter, a convict's food, and a convict's dress. Out of compassion to these unfortunate people the Government directed the Commissioner to promise them immediate release, and the restoration of all their property, on condition that they cultivated *according to their proved contracts*, a certain portion of their land with Indigo for the current season *only*. This offer they *unanimously* refused, and declared that they would die a thousand deaths rather than cultivate Indigo again. It is this exasperation of feeling which blinds men to consequences and which it is most desirable to prevent ; and it is in the planter's power, by a timely concession, to prevent it. The grower of rice sells his produce in the market to the buyer of rice, and both are satisfied with the bargain. Mutual interest brings them together ; and neither the Magistrate nor the Law are called upon to interfere. It should be the same with Indigo. Supply and demand should regulate the price, and not the arbitrary dictum of the buyer of the plant alone. There should be no vexatious interference with the ryot in the growing of the crop. " If the ryot, as it has been justly observed, finds ' that upon certain sorts of land the cultivation of Indigo pays ' him better than any other ; if he finds, when he cultivates Indigo, that he is no less secure from ill treatment than others ' of his class ; and if the native servants of the factory are not ' allowed to harass, so as to disgust him with the business,' all difficulties in the way of Indigo cultivation would cease. These principles are so natural, so self-evident and so just, that we feel sure that every good planter will be ready to act upon them. For the solution of our present difficulties we have more confidence in the planter's good sense than in any plan which the Indigo Commission can devise ; and sincerely and earnestly do we hope, that the planter will not be wanting to himself and expect others to perform for him that which he himself is best able to accomplish. We are all deeply interested in seeing the planter safely through the present crisis ; for it is and ever must be the desire of all classes to find English gentlemen settled in the Mofussil in peace and prosperity ; the centres of civilization from whence enlightenment and knowledge shall radiate standing forth like beacon lights to illumine the darkness of a benighted land ; an ever *present example of the wonders which English justice, probity*

and independence can achieve. Let us all remember the eloquent words of the Colonization Committee, "every Englishman 'should go to India with a deep sense of his responsibility, not only 'to those whom he is about to govern, or among whom he is 'about to reside, but to his own countrymen whose character 'for firmness, justice and forbearance he is bound constantly, 'zealously and by personal example to maintain."

ART. IX.—*Minute on the Reorganization of the Indian Army*,
by Sir JAMES OUTRAM. Published in the *Bombay Times*.
Bombay : 1860.

THE Home Army is as a unit in the vast population ; in the Colonies regiments are sparsely distributed, but in India we see an English Army of nigh one hundred thousand men who outnumber the civil population of Europeans, and are the mainstay of the Government, the second estate in the empire. The discipline of this Army, the rule of the few over the many, is secured by a moral influence which is too delicate to be heedlessly regulated. Many elements contribute to it, and the exclusion of one might impair it. A change in the class of regimental officers might relax the bonds of obedience, or a different class of recruits might counteract the moral agencies which now improve the soldier.

The events of 1857-58 abolished a native army, but were they not pregnant also with changes which must alter the character and *morale* of the British Army ?

The addition of 50,000 men to the European Army in India, the further drain of 10,000 recruits a year to maintain its strength, the increase of the navy and of the Home Garrisons, the second Irish exodus which is exhausting our chief recruiting district, have affected the British labour market seriously, and to all appearance permanently. In England, there has been a considerable and permanent rise of wages for all kinds of labor,—agricultural, handicraft and factory, but especially for unskilled labor. In Ireland, too, the improvement has been nearly as great in the case of mechanics, and greater in that of rural laborers. The masses now command more of physical comforts, and of social and intellectual enjoyments, than at any former period.

Hence an Army which is replenished by voluntary enlistment must either increase its terms, or accept inferior recruits who may be impervious to the influences now exerted on the soldier, and who, by their numbers, or (when older) by their example, may stifle the wholesome public opinion which has been gradually forming in regiments.

Accordingly the condition of the European soldier in India demands the thoughtful inquiry which Sir J. Outram has claimed for it in his *Minutes on the Reorganization of the Army*. Bit by bit reforms will not now suffice ; we must deal with the subject comprehensively, and without prejudices, not accepting blindly the traditions, though carefully studying the experience, of the past.

Doubtless, higher inducements must be offered to the soldier. Shall they be such as to secure only the same class of recruits as heretofore, or ought we to replenish the army with a better description of men? Sir J. Outram advocates the latter, and would attract to the Army, 1st, the steady, sober, moral peasants and artificers of Britain; 2ndly, the steady, sober, moral and intellectual men of a still higher parentage and education, but yet of humble means and uninfluential connections. Has Sir James considered how seriously this scheme might injure the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of England? Mr. Fonblanque in 1858 gave the following as the military strength and population in England and France.

	England.	France.
Population, ...	28,000,000	36,000,000
Military Force (Standing Army, only,) ... }	220,000	378,000
Proportion of Soldiers to Population,	1 Soldier to 128 inhabitants,	1 Soldier to 95 inhabitants,

Positively, France has more labourers, while the advantage to England in the mere ratio of 1 soldier to 128 inhabitants, as against 1 to 95 in France, is not more than is necessary for the workshop of the world. Moreover, the military force of 220,000 men is exclusive of the European troops of H. M.'s Indian forces, and of the large numbers in the Navy and in the mercantile marine, who are withdrawn from the productive forces of the country. In these circumstances England ought not to weaken the right arm of her commercial power. With the Reform question unsettled, she cannot give to the Indian service alone 100,000 of her industrious peasantry and artisans, retaining, instead, the dangerous classes who now enter the Army. It were better to recruit, still, from the loose population of the towns and counties, eventually returning a portion to the country as good citizens.

The English Army may surely be restricted to the kind of men who have acquired its renown, and to recruits from the class which has given us Tom Sayers. As men our soldiers are unrivalled, in *physique* they are superior to the French. "The infantry, in the steadiness and precision of their fire, the constancy they display in danger, their calmness in action, the terrible vehemence of their charge with the bayonet, are still the first." True! their moral state is low, but their moral capabilities are high. They have sterling qualities, noble feelings, honest dispositions, grateful hearts, which should only redouble our efforts to reclaim them. Wayfarers in life's journey, they were early

beset on the road by vicious companions, who corrupting their habits of life, stripped them of all moral safeguards, and left them half dead. Let us not pass them by for a better class; carefully tending them in our Army, let us rather heal the wounds of their spirit, pouring in the oil and wine of moral influences on their nature, and eventually sending them back with industrious habits, disciplined tempers, a strict sense of duty, to the peaceful life of citizens.

The capacity of our soldiers for moral training, their susceptibility to ameliorating influences, are generally admitted, yet it may be well to give one or two illustrations. We shall take them from the Crimean war, and from that 'for the suppression of the Bengal mutiny; and it will be well to note that England engaged in the former war with a hastily raised Army which contained a large number of recruits. One of Mrs. Nightingale's noble band thus writes. "But whether in the strain of over-work, or the steady fulfilment of our arduous duty, there was one bright ray ever shed over it, one thing that made labor light and sweet, and this was the respect, affection and gratitude of the men. No words can tell it rightly, for it was unbounded, and as long as we stayed among them it never changed. Familiar as our presence became to them, though we were in and out of the wards day and night, they never forgot the respect due to our sex and position. Standing by those in bitter agony, when the force of old habits is great, or by those in the glow of returning health, or walking up the wards among orderlies and serjeants, never did a word which could offend a woman's ear fall upon ours. Even in the barrack yard, passing by the guard room or entrances, where stood groups of soldiers smoking and idling, the moment we approached, all coarseness was hushed; and this lasted not a week, or a month, but the whole of my twelve months' residence; and my experience is also that of all my companions." Again;—"many of our patients could not read a word, and were delighted when we had time to teach them, or to read a few verses to those who were too weak to hold a book, or read long for themselves. They were grateful too for slates to write sums upon;—but talking of home and by-gone days, and then of their warlike adventures in the Crimea, was their chief delight." Or listen to the following story of the Lucknow campaign! An officer, who like the rest of his comrades had to leave all his property behind on the evacuation of Lucknow, was, on his arrival at the Alumbagh, accosted by a serjeant and two privates of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, who brought him several silver articles which he had left in his room on the occasion of his starting for the Dilkoocha in

charge of ladies and children of the garrison, 24 hours before the troops finally moved out of the entrenchment. 'It was a small thing, Sir,' said the honest serjeant, in reply to the earnest thanks of the officer, 'to do for you and your good lady who made us tea with her own hands, yes, and brought it to us every day we were on duty near your quarters. And this Sir' he added, pointing to one of the men, 'is an old friend, Sir, he knew you at Warley—here Jack speak up for yourself to the gentleman,' and Jack promptly answered the summons. 'Yes, Sir,' he said, 'there's much come and gone since then, but I knowed you the moment I seed you, and I told them all about 'you Sir. It's not every officer, Sir, as brings presents to our 'babies, and lifts his hat to our wives—and calls them *ma'am*. 'She's gone Sir, she's gone,' added the honest fellow, bursting a tear from his manly eyes 'but she minded you to the last, 'and the time the Colonel and you stopped your carriage to 'give her a lift, poor lass, from the Railway on that wet afternoon."

We are aware of the reverse to this picture, of the dark shades in the soldier's character,—of the drunkenness, the debauchery, the oaths and execrations, the filthiness, which make barrack life repulsive, and pollute its atmosphere, so that men born to better things, who sometimes enlist in the army, soon, in spite of themselves, imbibe the grossness of their comrades. But we distinguish between the true metal which glitters in the preceding examples and the dross that often overlays it. The one is the gift of God, which, if we will make much of, and cherish, and purify, will invigorate our race; the other is the devil's work which he perfects while we sleep, while we neglect in peace those brave men whom we admire in war, but which we could remove if only we would do our duty by our defenders in an honest and wise spirit.

For the grosser vices of our soldiery are in truth the accidents of a joyless existence which we may do much, but as yet have done little, to relieve; of a dreary blank which is diversified by no hopes, no occupations few pleasures save sensual ones. This hopeless unendurable *ennui*, this confronting of blank minds with vacancy,—the vacant hours of barrack life in the ungenial climate of India,—are well worth our attention. We can conceive no state more helpless, more pitiable. The will to work, but not the opportunity; the ability, in some, to read, but not the inclination; the body variously tormented by the climate, by prickly heat, by perspiration, by flies, bugs, ants; the senses oppressed by crowded barracks and their filth; the temper sometimes irritated by bodily ailments too slight for

the physician's notice,—in fact, the whole man disquieted by petty annoyances which the rich either escape by their habits, or endure through the springiness of minds sustained by hope, invigorated by exercise, cheered by pleasant society, or occupied by some definite purpose in life. But with the illiterate soldier, who has no mental resources, or ambition, or task, whose dormant mind subdues not the physical sufferings of the body, these petty annoyances make up almost the sum of existence, the rest being nearly a blank. What marvel, then, if, in him, *œnui* produce rage, and impotent rage, despair, and despair lead to suicide, or to the oblivion caused by drink !

This is no imaginary picture. read the following description of it by an eyewitness of the scene at Meerut, one of the finest Stations in India. “ When the hot season set in we were torment-
‘ed to death (as it were) with bugs; they were in our cots by
‘ thousands. Very seldom could we sleep upon our cots at night.
‘ We would take our bed and lay it upon the ground, in the
‘ open air. This was the only way we could get a bit of rest.

“ When the day approached, the heat would be so excessive
‘ that no one dare to venture out for fear of being struck by the
‘ sun. We had several killed by it, and in the barracks we
‘ would be so hot, that it would be torture to be there. The
‘ sweat would come through every thing we had upon us, in fact
‘ we could have nothing on but a thin pair of drawers, with no
‘ shirt; and the millions of flies that would be continually tor-
‘ menting us would be sufficient to drive men mad. When get-
‘ ting our victuals our plates were black with the flies. We
‘ were obliged to eat with one hand and buffet them away with
‘ the other. I have often heard our men curse their God; and
‘ they would get as much money as they could, and then go and
‘ get so drunk they could not speak. They would often say
‘ that was the only way they could have any peace; but I
‘ could not see any pleasure in such a way. I have seen men
‘ die in this state; and others drown themselves, or shoot them-
‘ selves, whilst a number lose their senses and die raving mad;
‘ in fact, half the deaths in this country are caused by drink.
‘ I hated the country; it grew worse and worse every day. The
‘ only exercise I could take was to walk two miles every night,
‘ after sunset, across the plain. The hot wind was dreadful.
‘ We had several men transported for striking non-commission-
‘ ed officers; and as crime was getting worse in the country,
‘ the Commander-in-Chief warned the soldiers in a General
‘ Order that he should be obliged to carry the military law into
‘ execution in full force, if the crime did not cease.” (*Four
Years’ Service in India.*) Another witness from the ranks, equal-

ly trustworthy and more intelligent, remarks, "It is absolutely astonishing to see the eagerness with which the mass of European soldiers in India endeavour to procure liquor, no matter of what description so that it produces insensibility, the sole result sought for."

As we are anxious to fortify our arguments relating to Sir J. Outram's recommendations, we may be excused another illustration from a different class of poor, that drunkenness, the besetting vice of our soldiery, is not a rooted propensity in them, but an accident of their position, a refuge, like suicide, from external evils which, in the soldier's case, it may be in our power to remove. "It has been vauntingly asserted by the advocates of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks, that vast numbers become the victims of seduction through intemperance. This may be true to a very limited extent; but that many fall by such means is not borne out by experience. Indeed the testimony of those who have enquired into the subject, *proves the contrary*—intemperance being the *after refuge from thought*, from the galling, ever present sense of shame and degradation, even where remorse or an awakened conscience is not added thereto, and, therefore, an after effect generally, and but rarely an exciting *first* cause. An eminent writer says, 'In all the cases brought under my notice, I have always found that unfortunate women have been drunkards, but invariably *came so subsequently to their entrance upon a life of prostitution.*'" (*Our Plague Spot.*)

That the drunkenness of the soldier is chiefly a form of despair at his lot, of disgust of life, reveals another source of the crime, namely the restriction on soldiers' marriages. "Professor Caspar in his work on suicide informs us that suicide is much more frequent in the Prussian army than might be expected, considering the innumerable improvements which it has undergone. 'Notwithstanding these improvements, there is,' says the Professor 'something in the condition of modern barracks, in the fact that, even at present, the majority of common soldiers must remain unmarried, bound neither by the ties of wife, nor child, nor home, which seems calculated to lead to disgust of life and suicide.' Mark the words, "disgust of life," caused by the restriction of marriages among Prussian soldiers, and equally, therefore, among English soldiers, for they are of that labouring class who constantly evidence an intimate relation between the price of food, and the number of marriages, a relation significant of their craving for the estate of matrimony which is honorable in all men, and which, through the charities and sanctities of home, is doubly precious to the poor.

Thus, the grossest form of vice among our soldiers proceeds, mainly, from external causes, and while these are in operation we shall only sacrifice nobler victims by enlisting a better class of recruits. On the other hand if we alleviate the condition of the soldier, remove the restriction on marriages, and systematise the means for his improvement, we shall greatly subdue, if not extirpate drunkenness, and efface the chief blot in a soldiery who are unrivalled in the world.

We have stayed long at the threshold of our subject, because it was of the first consequence to determine whether a better class of recruits than heretofore, must be obtained for the army. If we have successfully shown that this is unnecessary, if we have proved that "the common soldier must still continue to be drawn from the lower orders, and that attention should consequently be directed *not to having him an intelligent and estimable individual on enlistment, but to rendering him so afterwards,*" we shall have less difficulty in dealing with one or two suggestions in Sir J. Outram's minute. He proposes.

1. To open to every private of high moral character and superior zeal and ability, the opportunity of working his way up to the highest of our staff appointments, and to the highest of our military rank and commands

2. To allow sober, steady, intelligent and industrious privates the dignity of a commission, on lower qualifications than those for staff employ, and to employ them in the various departments as clerks, but under the sonorous appellations of "Assistant Secretaries" or "Junior Assistants to the Adjutant General," Quarter Master General, &c, or as Conductors, but under the periphrastical titles of "Junior Sub-Assistant Commissaries" and so forth.

3. To hold out numerous staff appointment prizes, such as clerkships in the various civil and military offices, in the Telegraph, in the Post Office, in the Customs, and Sub-Conductorships, &c., to privates and non-commissioned officers, as rewards for efficient soldiery combined with intellectual improvement.

The advantages to be expected from these measures are thus sketched.

"How many hundreds of fine noble fellows there are in every walk of humble life, who pine to acquire those educational advantages which the poverty of their parents denied them in early youth, and the hard necessities of daily labor preclude them from acquiring now that they have set up for themselves. Let it be known that in the Indian Local Force, very high educational facilities are afforded, and such men would crowd to our standards

How many hundreds of men there are of fair education, men conscious

of great but undeveloped capabilities, who pine under the galling conviction that they are pottering away valuable existence in pursuits unworthy of their powers, or who, chafing under the conviction are driven to irregular courses, or seek to amend their lot in a foreign land, or devote themselves to political agitation, who would rush to our recruiting Depôts were they assured that by hard work, and zealous conduct, and steadiness, they could secure honorable employment under the Indian Government, and possibly raise themselves to the rank of officers and position of gentlemen."

We have a word to say on these expected benefits, before examining the measures from which they are to flow. The knowledge that high educational facilities exist in the Indian Army would not attract many recruits. The intelligent who appreciate such facilities, can obtain them in Mechanics' Institutes or young men's classes, without taking the shilling, and roaming thousands of miles after the schoolmaster who had gone abroad. The illiterate on the other hand do not care for education, the thirst for knowledge being an artificial want which education itself must create. There remain then, only the many hundred men of fair education, great conceit, discontented mood, and irregular habits, who with indulgent euphemism are described as persons conscious of great but undeveloped capabilities, and of a valuable existence, in which present duty is neglected from a longing for pursuits worthy of their powers. We submit that the Army is better without such men, and would quickly get rid of them.

Of the three suggestions of Sir J. Outram we take exception chiefly to the first, viz., the promotion of privates of high moral character and superior zeal, to the highest commands. Merely rare cases of extraordinary merit are not contemplated. The qualifications for the reward are, it is true, to be sufficiently high to render it difficult of attainment, but yet, they are to be moderate withal, so as to be obtained by the worthy, the able, the resolute, the industrious.

We augur ill of any systematic promotions of non-commissioned officers to Commissions in the English Army. In that Army there are two significant facts, viz., the large proportion of agricultural labourers and militiamen, and the preference, by soldiers themselves, of a commanding officer who maintains proper discipline. The first fact explains the strong desire of soldiers to be commanded by gentlemen. This is a true instinct; for the English gentleman is the best type of humanity, and the desire to be commanded by him in preference, is near akin to loyalty to the Sovereign, the first Lady in the realm. The second fact indicates the petty tyranny of non-commissioned officers when the reins of discipline, if loosely held by commissioned officers, fall

into their hands. It has been well observed, "No officers are so 'severe, or have so little consideration for the feelings of soldiers, as those who have risen from the ranks." The bonds of obedience would be snapped by numerous promotions of this kind.

Setting heroism against gentle birth, we would promote serjeants to commissions for only distinguished field service, coupled with educational qualifications. If the latter be wanting, the individual might be promoted to a new grade of Serjeant Major, First Class, with treble the ordinary pay of the rank, and with a place for his name in the Army List. The reward would be as substantial as an Ensigncy, but far more gratifying: it would not isolate the soldier from his comrades, while giving him honorable rank above them.

These remarks embrace also the second proposition, viz. the gift of unattached Commissions to every non-commissioned officer who has done three years' regimental duty as such, and who having graduated in a Senior Department of Instruction, shall pass certain educational tests. We shall not rightly apprehend the spirit of our military institutions if we convert the Army into a huge grammar school, where the Sovereign, now the fountain of rank and honor, will be the distributor of prize Ensigncies to diligent students. Education, or any degree of scholarship if an indispensable, should yet give but a secondary, claim to advancement. Unattached Commissions like other military rewards ought to mark the approbation by Government or by the Commander-in-Chief, (as representing the Sovereign) of distinguished bravery, or signally faithful and honorable Service. Any of these conditions being fulfilled, the educational test might then determine the expediency of the promotion in the individual case; but if we let it predominate we virtually displace the Sovereign by the schoolmaster.

And what shall we say to the employment of Unattached Ensigns and Lieutenants, as clerks and warrant officers but under the euphonious titles of Assistant Secretary, Junior Assistant to the Adjutant General, Junior Sub-Assistant Commissary, &c.? Simply that it would be a cruel caricature of our cousins in America where servants are "helps" and "assistants," and of uncovenanted servants who long to see their clerkships gazetted.

The amiable weakness, if encouraged, would extend to the holders of "the numerous staff appointment prizes" for non-commissioned officers and privates, till the Audit Department, however skilled in mnemonics, would be puzzled to remember the salary of an Extra Officiating Sub-Deputy Assistant to the

Junior Assistant Commissary General. At length, some army reformer, fresh from the pages of Carlyle, would explode the monstrous sham, sweeping away the post of Assistant Secretaries, Junior Assistants, &c., with the besom of destruction.

We would by no means proscribe the appointment of non-commissioned officers to clerkships and higher situations in the uncovenanted service. There can be no better outlet from the ranks for men of education, who, having been forced by misfortune, or other cause, to enlist, may, by their steadiness, deserve advancement suitable to their abilities. But on nomination to civil employ such men should quit the Army for ever; for, as a system, we would reserve European clerkships, and other civil appointments, for a class of men not in the Army but of them; and we are persuaded that Sir J. Outram would acquiesce in our views.

In England and the Colonies the British soldier finds companionship in the civil population. Friendly chat and simple pleasures in humble homes where he is welcomed, relieve the monotony of barrack life. But in India how different is it? An army of eighty thousand Europeans is isolated, socially, amongst millions. If the soldier desire companionship out of his regiment he must seek it among a class of natives who ensnare him in temptation, and minister to his vices. We must create a civil society for him in India, and must form it from his own class, his own flesh and blood. The means are at hand. In the Lawrence Asylum and other orphan institutions, soldiers' children receive an education superior to that of many subordinate clerks. Without reserving any proportion of appointments for them, the policy of nominating them to clerkships, or other suitable offices, as opportunity offered, might be impressed on all departments. Their relationships in the army, and consequent sympathies, would open their homes to steady well-behaved soldiers at the station, while their nurture and training could preserve them from the intemperate habits into which non-commissioned officers are apt to relapse in detached staff employments. The soldiers would appreciate this kind provision for their offspring, which, yet, would not be more kind than just; for a large number of them, from the rural population, are perhaps incapable of using the educational facilities afforded in our army schools, for qualifying for staff employ. These men would be stirred with an honest pride and gratitude for their sons' advancement, far more than for their own promotion.

Thus have we shown both that Sir J. Outram's expectations of

a better class of recruits are vain, and that the means by which he would attract them are objectionable. We have done this with the hope of weaning him from visionary projects, in order that he may concentrate his efforts on the numerous other improvements for the soldier's welfare, which he has recommended. We offer this plea in extenuation of our free criticisms on a man to whose worth thousands pay a respectful homage. In the Minutes before us there is abundant proof how truly he is the soldiers' friend, an ample explanation why they love him, and why, of all the Generals who led armies in the late war, he only was missed by the soldiers in the dinner given to the 74th Highlanders in Edinburgh.

We are now to consider the means of attracting in large number, recruits not inferior to the present, and the agencies for making them contented, obedient, sober, industrious, in a word, good soldiers, and eventually good citizens.

The men to whom we are to adapt our measures, the raw material of our rank and file, must be sought chiefly "in the agricultural and working classes, and in that large section of the loose and idle population which cannot be said to strictly belong to either, and yet partakes, in a measure, of both."

The motives or causes which prompt them to enlist are

1. The pressure of temporary distress. About two-thirds are obtained from this cause.

2. Temporary inebriety, thoughtlessness, the folly of youth.

3. Domestic broils.

4. Poverty, arising from unmitigated idleness, or from disinclination for the severe work required in industrial occupations.

5. Restless dispositions, unsettled habits, escape from the arm of the law. Hence, the proportion of dissolute, disorderly, and criminal, among our recruits.

Thus impelled, the recruits come from the three divisions of the United Kingdom, England furnishing more than Ireland and Scotland combined, and the last mentioned yielding the smallest number. Owing to the preponderance of the English element our measures should be adapted to the English labourer, his wants being on a higher scale than the Irishman's, and the innate feeling of tidiness, order, cleanliness, being stronger in the English than in the Scotch or Irish poor.

These facts afford a clue to our inquiry. The most significant among them is, that the vast majority of our recruits enlist from the pressure of temporary distress, or from motives of like temporary duration. When the brief excitement has passed away, these men, who enter the army from no special

love for the military profession, must be dissatisfied with any condition which may be inferior to their average lot in their former state of life; nay, in the ungenial climate of India, it should be superior, just as educated Europeans need higher pay in this country than at home or in the colonies. For the unsettled portion of the working classes who serve in the Indian army we should therefore provide advantages equal to those of the operatives next above them in England. Those advantages are

1st. A certain scale of physical comfort, and the hope of improving it by steady habits of industry.

2nd. Educational facilities for both parents and children.

3rd. Freedom to marry.

4th. Freedom to change their scene of labor.

To secure these advantages in the Army, a regiment must be the counterpart of our civil organization, with only military discipline superadded. In civil life it is capital that organizes industry for the production of articles which, in improved wages, give to the producer his physical comforts, his social enjoyments, and the happiness of home. In a regiment we must find a substitute. There must be an organizer of industry with the brain to discover what products will be remunerative, or by what contrivances labor may be economized, and with the administrative power to direct different kinds of labor, assigning to each workman the task for which he is fitted.

For such arrangements we must modify our antiquated views of a military organization, we must realize vividly that old things are passing away, that as our industrial hives, at home are becoming an army of volunteers, so our army must become an organized band of labourers. While the State, distrustful of the working classes, would not place arms in their hands, the people, with like suspicion, frowned on armed men who worked in no civil callings. But these jealousies are passing away. The standing army is being supplemented by a permanent corps of volunteers, and for the two to work harmoniously they must be of homogeneous elements. Hence, the motives which are potent, the natural affections which predominate, among our industrial poor must be directed, not stifled, educated, not proscribed, in the Army.

If this result can be attained, if the army without relaxing discipline can be a training school for industrious citizens, who, on returning to civil life will swell the roll of our armed volunteers, it is a cheering fact that our recruits are drawn from the loose population of the agricultural and manufacturing districts; that they are men whom our

hives of industry can spare with smaller inconvenience than any other class. In this view the army may be made an element not only of national strength but of our commercial power, of our moral and social progress. Receiving brass, the army will return gold; borrowing from civil society its thoughtless members, the infirm of purpose, the Bohemians of the lower orders, it will return them after a while, to civil occupations, as citizens trained to industrious habits, imbued with respect for law and order, and animated with loyalty to their Sovereign. In short, the whirligig of Time has brought its changes; the army once regarded as an instrument of despotism, may now be employed in educating the poor for the suffragé.

We have slightly anticipated the conclusion we are aiming at; but it was expedient to unfold the scope of arguments which must branch out in many details.

Education, marriage, hopeful, cheering (because remunerative) labour, with freedom to leave the army after short service, are the subjects which we must now discuss. We give precedence to the first two because military prejudices are strongest against them (chiefly against the second); but the three are mutually complementary. Knowledge without labour, generates conceit and discontent, the weeds we should least desire to see luxuriating in the army. But applied knowledge, learning in the midst of toil, produces humility,—obedience. In working with men actively engaged as ourselves, we see minds superior to ours, at least in some respects; so that no man, so engaged, can despise his fellows. Toil also, from being profitable in the degree that it is tributary to great interests, causes us to feel our own nothingness, to feel it most when, by education, we perceive best the insignificance of our work, and the magnitude of the interests which it serves. So again—save with rare natures—the labour that serves, or produces, or buys and sells, and gets gain, lacks a humanizing motive when it is not exerted for a family, for the wife, whose desire was turned to her husband when the law of labour was imposed on man that he might minister to her, or for children, whose angels come daily from beholding the face of their Father in Heaven to breathe a message of love on the bosoms that cherish the little ones. If we be in earnest about regimental workshops we will not repress, in the Army, the chief humanizing motives to toil.

Not many years since, in our Army, the controversy between ignorance and knowledge raged high. It was urged that learning softens the mind and unfits men for the use of arms, that the lower classes are more useful and virtuous when ignorant, and soldiers more implicit in their obedience, less disposed

to question the wisdom of their officers, less fitted to be the ringleaders in discontent or mutinous conduct, less obnoxious as privates to the jealousy of non-commissioned officers, than when educated. More than 200 years previously, the arguments on the other side had been summed up by Bacon. "Experience," he affirmed, "doth warrant that both in persons and in times, there hath been a meeting and a concurrence in learning and arms, flourishing and excelling in the same men and the same ages. For, as for men, there cannot be a better nor the like instance, as of that pair, Alexander the Great, and Julius Cæsar the Dictator; whereof the one was Aristotle's scholar in philosophy, and the other was Cicero's rival in eloquence; or if any man had rather call for scholars that were great generals, than generals that were great scholars, let him take Epaminondas the Theban or Xenophon the Athenian; whereof the one was the first that abated the power of Sparta and the other was the first that made way to the overthrow of the monarchy of Persia. And this concurrence is yet more visible in times than in persons, by how much an age is a greater object than a man. For both in Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Græcia and Rome, the same times that are most renowned for arms, are likewise the most renowned for learning, so that the greatest authors and philosophers, and the greatest captains and governors have lived in the same ages. Neither can it otherwise be; for as in man the ripeness of strength of the body and mind cometh much about an age, save that the strength of the body cometh somewhat the more early, so in states, arms and learning, whereof the one correspondeth to the body, the other to the soul of man, have a concurrence or near sequence in times. * * * Again, for that other conceit, that learning should undermine the reverence of laws and government, it is assuredly a mere depravation and calumny, without all shadow of truth. For to say that a blind custom of obedience should be a surer obligation than duty taught and understood, it is to affirm, that a blind man may tread surer by a guide, than a seeing man can by a light. And it is without all controversy that learning doth make the minds of men gentle, generous, amiable, and pliant to government; whereas ignorance makes them churlish, thwart, and mutinous; and the evidence of time doth clear this assertion, considering that the most barbarous, rude, and unlearned times have been most subject to tumults, seditions, and changes." The evidence of later times, also, coupled modern instances with these wise saws. "The result" says Chambers, in his *History of Scotland*, "of educating the people of Scot-

land, has been, not a greater irksomeness under a lowly condition, as might, perhaps, be expected, but a greater power of enduring it—not a habit of insubordination to those placed by Providence in superior stations, but a tranquil sense of the propriety of a gradation of ranks.” And, observed the *Quarterly Review* in 1846, “how stand our scientific corps, in regard to intelligence and correct behaviour? We answer that nothing in all the world can surpass them. As regards general intelligence, it is greater and more universally diffused among these corps than in an equal number of persons belonging to the same station of life, seek for them in what part of England you may. * * The non-commissioned officers and privates of the regiments of Sappers and Royal Artillery constitute, we may venture to assert, the most respectable body of men in the British Army. Exceptions of course occur, and on the score, of morals they are more numerous than could be wished;—but there, not less than with reference to intellect, the rule is in the men’s favor.” Lastly, the advocates of education pressed their opponents with the dilemma that ignorance when idle finds refuge in drunkenness, while a usual form of its activity is crime.

And so knowledge triumphed as we see in the Army schools; but the small expenditure on those schools commemorates also the obstinacy of the conflict—only to renew it perhaps in a different arena from that of argument.

The results, heretofore, of Army education, have been ambiguous; having confirmed, partly the fears, and some of the expectations which are stated in the preceding argument. If drunkenness has slightly abated, and soldiers are more humanized, they are also more susceptible to wounds of the spirit which are hardest to bear. We have a fair exterior, in improved barracks, better rations, more varied amusements, for the soldier. These ought we to have done, but is there not a great deal, more important far, which we have left undone? Are no feelings of discontent and sedition rankling below the smooth surface? One, who is “not of those who enter the Army with a bad character, and leave it with a worse,” thus speaks; “I served as a private in the first corps in the profession; not for any very lengthened period truly, but sufficiently long to become familiar with its general management, and to draw conclusions as to the management of other branches of the military establishment, less favored than itself. I had many opportunities of gaining information with regard to the general routine of a soldier’s life, and I made it my business to seek it. * * I tell you there is not a more unhappy, nor a more

‘discontented class in this island than that which goes to make up the ranks of the British Army. How could it be otherwise? There is no use in hoodwinking the fact; for though you know it not, the conversation of the barrack rooms, without an exception, is neither complimentary to Government in the concrete, nor suggestive of a continuity of forbearance, but is revolutionary in the extreme. * * * It is a bold assertion to make, that the institution upon which we depend for protection is revolutionary at heart;—but there is a comfort in the conviction that there is a wide difference between what is inborn, and that which is merely superinduced,—between the spirit which would subvert order from a delight in anarchy, and the spirit which would seek but justice.” The extent of this feeling may be exaggerated, but there is reason to believe that it exists, and the fact is of serious significance; for progress, either in virtue or vice, is a law of our nature;—we are not the same, but either better or worse, every year that we live. Hence this discontent will spread, unless encountered by moral agencies as subtle as itself, but more potent, just, and virtuous,—will spread from the educated, in the ranks, to the uneducated who receive evil impressions from their comrades because they are inaccessible, through ignorance, to moral suasion by their officers.

To England this is more than a military question; it affects her social state and polity, for discontent in the Army would breed sedition in the country. The Army Service Act of 1847, limited the infantry soldier’s engagement to ten years, with two years’ extra service if required by the State. The first contracts under the Act expired only in 1859, and now, large numbers will be annually discharged. As yet, only their passage home has troubled the financier;—but if they return to civil life soured in temper, embittered against their rulers, unfitted for industry, confirmed idlers, steeped in immorality, great will be the anxiety of the statesman. This tide of discontent, this stream of sedition, this current of immorality, steadily setting in from the Army, would wear away the foundations of society.

What is the remedy? Shall we stay our hand,—withdraw, from the contest,—confess that Bacon was wrong—restore the reign of ignorance? We cannot do it if we would—we must encounter the forces of evil, or they will destroy us where we stand. Drunkenness and crime, twin born of ignorance, and more terrible than discontent, would be unmanageable in a hundred thousand European soldiers among the alien races of a subject population. This mass if dulled to insensibility by ignorance will be unwieldy; but if it be instinct with life, intelli-

gence, and virtue, its impulses will respond to the motives of its commanders, rendering to them a willing obedience. In war, said Napoleon, the moral force is to the physical as three to one.

But how is it that our Army Schools have not verified the aphorisms of Bacon, have failed to teach our soldiers the lesson in which our well ordered citizens have proved apt scholars, viz., in whatever state of life they are, therewith to be content? The question is best answered by another; have we who miss Bacon's conclusion acted on his premiss, that "*duty taught and understood*," is "a surer obligation than a blind custom of obedience;"—have we, so quick to fear if the soldier be not content, been prompt to alleviate the circumstances of that state of life in which with strong natural affections he is to be content?

The following statistics of army education in 1858 do not meet Bacon's requirement of "*duty taught and understood*."

		Infy.	Cavry.	Artully.	Enginrs.	Total.
Men who can	Neither read nor write	27,757	1,233	4,548	51	33,589
	Read, but cannot write, or barely write their names	28,386	2,501	4,147	54	35,088—68,677
	Read and write	60,691	10,359	13,357	2,255	87,662
	Men of superior education	4,150	951	379	488	5,968—93,630
		15,044	1,20,984	22,431	3,848	1,62,307 1,62,307

The figures are not cheering. More than two-fifths cannot write, and more than a fifth cannot even read. The 35,088 who can read but cannot write, consist, perhaps, of men who have forgotten all save the letters they learnt before enlistment, or before dismissal from drill. With this imperfect education they cannot think connectedly or follow an argument. They receive implicitly what they see in print. Reading is but an additional organ for conveying to their untutored reason the perceptions of other minds, and for transmitting through them, to those who cannot read, the seditious teachings of the agitator against class distinctions.

Nor in the next superior class, viz., in the 87,662 who can read and write, have we the assurance of an education that humanizes. Comprising all the non-commissioned officers in the Army, and the candidates for that rank, the scholarship of this class chiefly consists, it is to be feared, in the ability to read a legible manuscript, write correctly from dictation, and apply the elementary rules of Arithmetic.

These results are not what we should expect from the fitness

of the regimental schoolmaster to impart a higher scholarship, and from the ample leisure (which soldiers, anxious to improve themselves, could convert into the learned leisure) of barrack life. They denote the want of incentives to study which abound in civil life. With less leisure, but the like instruction, the labouring classes that enjoy equal physical comforts with our soldiers, are better informed, and have a stronger desire to improve themselves.

In our common life, the incitements to study are various, but they may be summed up in one word, opinion; the opinion of parents, when we are young,—of the elder boys, whom we emulate as we grow older,—of our teacher, at all times,—of educated women who give to the society in which we breathe our adult life, the grace and refinement of literary culture. In all these cases the motive is ennobling, being unselfish, or otherwise addressed to our better nature, which, thus evoked, lifts us, step by step, into sympathy with the good and great, till we love knowledge for its own sake. But none of these motives are present to the soldier. He is instructed when an adult, and by a schoolmaster from his own class, for a state of life in which, generally, the women are either illiterate or have been educated above their station. His only inducements are promotion to non-commissioned officer, or to detached employ. The latter is of little moral benefit, because the cramming for a situation, as in our native schools, brings little of moral discipline; while both inducements embarrass the schoolmaster who is deprived of his principal means of forming character, when his best students are drafted to staff employ, or, as non-commissioned officers, are obliged to keep aloof from privates.

We have endeavoured to strip Army Education as it is, of any great pretensions to moral influence, because error on this point would be a fatal delusion. Shams may be tolerated in our artificial society, or to a small extent in our civil polity; but their prevalence in the Army would only conceal the brewing of hellish ingredients into a mixture which may enervate our military strength, and ultimately destroy our national life.

At the same time we shall fail to discover or appreciate the true remedies unless we hold education to be of the same importance as the Articles of War, in maintaining the discipline and *morale* of the Army. With such a conviction, the authorities might consider the expediency of 1st, a superior class of Army Schoolmasters, 2nd, moral and material inducements to the soldier, to be educated.

As instructors of youth, and in the mere power of teaching particular studies to soldiers, our trained schoolmasters are ad-

mirable; but their moral influence over adult pupils of the class from which they themselves were taken must be weak. We see this exemplified in parallel cases. The discipline in a class, generally suffers under a master who may have been promoted to it from the highest form in the same school; and again, "no officers are so severe, or have so little consideration for the feelings of soldiers, as those who have risen from the ranks." But when an educated gentleman, whether teacher or clergyman, is brought into intimate converse with the minds of our rough soldiery, there is much in the contact of his civilisation with their untutored natures, to interest his imagination, awaken his sympathy, excite his respect for traits of character, or for qualities of heart, in which our refinement is deficient, to produce, in fact, an enthusiasm for the soldier's welfare which can rarely animate another teacher from whom the moral problems, so fascinating to the one, are concealed by the force of habit.

We do not, therefore, disparage the trained schoolmasters in recommending a superior class of teachers. We need both; the one for a primary, the other for a senior school, in each regiment. Nay, we have no choice in the matter unless we intermit our educational efforts for some years. The demands of fifty or sixty additional European corps, and of schools in the hills, for soldiers' children, will far exceed the supply of trained teachers, of the present class; but a higher order of men, on the pay and allowances, and with the rank, of regimental paymasters or quartermasters, could be readily obtained. The need for such men to assist, also, the studies of officers who may be candidates for staff employ, is obvious.

We have adverted to schools in the hills for soldiers' children. On this subject we would cite the opinion of Dr. Julius JEFFREYS, which might be supported by an array of authorities. "The children of the soldiery of European blood, if retained in India, ought all of them to be reared on the Himalaya, Neilgherry, and similar hills, affording elevations not under five thousand, and, where available, of six or seven thousand feet. The children might be brought down once a year, during the two coldest months, to visit their parents. * * Few children of pure English blood can be reared in the plains of India, and of that few the majority have constitutions which might cause them to envy the lot of those who die in their childhood. The mortality of barrack children is appalling, especially in the months of June, September, and October. At Cawnpore from twenty to thirty have died in one month. In short, the soldiery leave no descendants of unmixed blood. Of the half million of soldiers who have gone out to India, where are all

' their legitimate descendants of pure English blood, who by this time would have multiplied into a numerous population if born in New Zealand, Canada, or Oregon? * * Let myriads of feeble voices from little graves, scattered through India's arid plains, supply the melancholy answer ' here.' " Moreover, the dearness of necessities makes it difficult for the soldier in a regiment to provide sufficient food from his child's subsistence allowance of Rs. 2-8 a month.

Girls entering their sixth, and boys their seventh year, might be sent to the hill schools, being till then instructed, or rather, amused, in regimental infant schools; for we would keep the children, for those early years, in their corps, that, *non Angli sed angeli*, they may shed around them, the innocence of happy natures, a fragrance that shall remain even after they go to their new home in the mountains, carrying with them loving thoughts of their parents, and tender memories of the toil, the hardships, and (for the future, let us hope) the cheerfulness, withal, of their humble homes.

But in these hill schools a stringent rule should restrain enthusiastic teachers, on one point, though their zeal be allowed free course in other directions. The girls should not be educated above the standard of regimental schools. In common life, boys' schools excel those for girls. This is as it should be, though many complain of it; for woman's position in society is not independent but derived, not self-sustained, but supported by the arm of a father, husband, or brother. If that arm be struck down by the dispensations of Providence she may have a heart-wearying struggle for life, or, if it be withdrawn for her misconduct, she sinks into shame and disgrace such as self-sustained man does not incur for greater guilt. Thus dependant on man, sympathy with his better nature is the atmosphere in which her soul exercises itself in goodness; while her moral growth is stunted, her sweet unselfish spirit perverted, the fount of her natural affections dried up, if to separation from parents be added an education above theirs, and that of respected friends, causing her thoughts not to be as their thoughts, her people not to be as their people, and, we must add, her God, worshipped with a cold heart, not to be as their God, unless a happy marriage provide for her a merciful escape from this inversion of the order of nature, in which she loves little, and cares not much to appreciate, the parents who begot her, who suffered for her, and who support her.

For these reasons, *pace* the doctors, girls in the hill schools should return in their twelfth or thirteenth year to finish their education in their corps, which would contain four schools, viz.,

a Senior and a Primary Department for soldiers, an Infant school, and a superior Grammar school for girls. From this centre, influences should radiate to improve the soldiery. Are they encouraged now to see the Infant school at work? The sight, in some at least, might stir deep emotions, causing their hearts to vibrate with strange harmonies that could only find expression in a purer life. Or again, girls from the hill schools, grown in the second generation to mothers, would, with their daughters, and a train of old and young from the regiment, frequent the lecture and the concert room. Thus might gentle influences steal over the pupils in our adult schools, inducing them to prize for its own sake the knowledge which receives an intelligent appreciation from their fair ones. And "Hope, the charmer, lingers still behind;" we would invoke her aid by shortening by two years the period for discharge, to well-behaved soldiers of a certain degree of scholarship.

Substantial inducements to educate himself, might also be provided for the soldier. Well-behaved men in a regiment are distinguished by good conduct badges and superior pay; we advocate a like, if not a superior distinction, additional to good conduct rewards, for the well-behaved scholar. An extra pay of 2 rupees a month for a limited number of privates, including all lance corporals, of 3 rupees for corporals, and of 6 rupees for serjeants, in addition to pay while serving in the regiment, and to pension on discharge, might be allowed for three degrees of scholarship, but to those only who continue with their corps. A ribbon or a medal, to be worn, conspicuously, by the possessor, should accompany the reward. It would mark his intellectual superiority among his compeers, would, unlike the degrees of the Calcutta University, testify also to moral character, and would be his passport to the society that may be formed by the systematic employment of soldiers' children in subordinate civil offices. In their humble sphere, the soldiery would regard the distinction with the same feeling that degrees in English Universities are regarded by the richer classes. The rewards would also strengthen the hands of the schoolmaster; his best students, no longer deserting him for staff employ, would remain to improve their own character in the responsible trusts of non-commissioned officers, to exemplify the benefits of education, to diffuse a taste for reading, and to abate the galling tyranny, or to suppress the foul, contaminating language, of ignorant non-commissioned officers. "But although there was much order and regularity in a military point of view, among the old soldiers, their conduct in other respects was frequently abominable, and their language of so foul a character, as almost to make

'my blood curdle and my flesh creep when I recall it. In many instances the lips of serjeant and private teemed alike with pollution, and their horrible oaths and execrations, coupled with expressions of obscenity, pained my ears tenfold more than the shrill screaming of the troops of jackalls that came nightly from the graves and tombs, to prey upon the offal of the camp. Still, strange as it may seem, I soon became habituated to all this, and their language grew daily less and less offensive, from constantly hearing it, until finally I begun to imbibed the grossness of those around me in spite of myself. Such is the baneful influence of example." (*Camp and Barrack Life.*)

We disregard the objection that the non-commissioned staff of departments would suffer by our keeping the best men with their regiments. The Army must not be sacrificed to the staff, whose sole purpose is to maintain the discipline and morale of the Army. Moreover, the minor departmental staff in question, might be advantageously recruited from the hill schools for soldiers' children, a measure which would go far to check waste, extravagance, and peculation, in the lower grades of the Public Works and Army Commissariat Departments.

But our Educational measures will be defective without a Music Class. It could be easily formed under the Regimental Bandmaster. The population from which our recruits are drawn, have evinced a decided taste for music, and we should turn the feeling to account in the education of adults. The facts and arguments on this subject, are, however, best stated in the words of the Rev. F. D. Maurice. "Of all experiments in English education, beyond comparison the most successful has been that for diffusing a knowledge of music, and a love of music, among our people. The Mechanics' institutes have attracted a few men here and there, and those generally not mechanics; the classes of Mr. Hullah have brought thousands together, of both sexes, in London and in every part of England. Every order, down to the lowest, has felt the impulse. * * There have been indications in various quarters that a craving both for instrumental and vocal music has been awakened among mechanics in London and the provinces, indications which I believe we ought to consider as distinctly providential. Few persons have less motive to estimate them highly than I have; few, from utter ignorance of the whole subject, would be more inclined to overlook them. But it is impossible not to confess that they are the most significant facts which have yet come under our notice, facts which from their strangeness and their inconsistency with all our anticipations require to be reflected on. Music

' will never, surely, occupy the most conspicuous place in any good
 ' scheme of education. But if it has taken stronger hold of those
 ' whom we desire to educate, than any other study has done,
 ' especially if it has laid hold of them when we thought that
 ' any other study was more in agreement with their previous
 ' tastes and habits of mind, there must be something in it which
 ' may help us to understand what is needed in all studies, some-
 ' thing which may deepen and widen our thoughts respecting
 ' the nature of education itself. * * * To understand this ques-
 ' tion rightly, you must put yourselves in the place, not exactly
 ' of some utterly dull and incapable listener, like myself, but, of
 ' some simple clown, all whose work has been of the roughest
 ' kind, but who has had a father and mother, perhaps a wife and
 ' children, and who possesses the strange power which it has
 ' never occurred to him to think about, of recollecting that which
 ' has been in his own life, of anticipating that which shall be.
 ' Very strange ! This clown is a creature that looks before and
 ' after. All the economy of his existence is adapted to one pos-
 ' sessing these faculties; he is descended from those who are in
 ' their graves; those are climbing his knees who will be play-
 ' ing or working on this earth when he is in *his* grave. I can-
 ' not tell what these strange sounds, so unlike the ordinary
 ' discourse which he hears when talking about the weather,
 ' or buying and selling in the market, mean to him; but I
 ' am quiet sure it has something to do with these memories,
 ' and hopes, and fears of his; that it joins itself to a number
 ' of vague feelings which he has had about other days, and
 ' about faces which he has seen and hands which he has press-
 ' ed; that it gives them a kind of distinctness which they
 ' had not before. I cannot explain how this comes to pass,
 ' and I am sure he could not. The music speaks to something
 ' within him which the ordinary language does not speak to,
 ' something more near to his own very self, touching wires
 ' which that language does not reach, and making them vibrate."
 The memory and hope, which the music stirs within him,—
 "this memory, which the ancients called the mother of arts,
 ' may not be that, but a very vulgar, simple thing, which we can
 ' all define and understand; this Hope, with which not only
 ' the bloom but the substance of our being seems to be involved,
 ' may, when it is submitted to a satisfactory analysis, shrink into
 ' a very obvious, intelligible, unmarvellous quality. But I am
 ' not speaking of either in this refined state; I am speaking of
 ' them as they rise in the heart of a day labourer. To him they
 ' are wonderful, and the music which mingles so curiously and
 ' intricately with them is wonderful also. It must depend I

'suppose, very much upon the case of those who provide it for him, whether it shall awaken only some slight and momentary titillation of pleasure, or the deepest and most energetic thoughts; whether it shall be impressed into the service of his ordinary habits of thinking, and acting and receive its shape and hue from them, or shall be instrumental in raising them and giving them a nobler form and brighter coloring; whether it shall be the vision of an occasional luxury which the rich man may enjoy to surfeiting—he only at rare intervals—or whether it shall speak to him of a divine order which was before the discords of earth began, which works on in the midst of them, and into which the pure of heart, who prefer their human heritage to any other, may freely enter, yet, even the vulgarest street music is an education to the hearts of those who stand at the doors of pestilential dwellings to listen to it. Till that day which shall unseal all pent-up words and reveal the secrets of all hearts, it may not be known what thoughts have been stirred up in human spirits by sounds that fell utterly dead upon our ears; what authentic tidings of invisible things came to them through those channels when other avenues seemed to be closed; what awakenings of conscience, what aspirations after truths never yet perceived, what search for treasures that had been lost." What pulsations, throbblings, beginnings, of a higher life, which with the vivifying influences of education may renovate the whole man. "I have only justified the musical education on the ground that it arouses men, shut up in the dreariest mechanical employments, even sunk in moral debasement, to a feeling of their spiritual existence, to the consciousness of belonging to another economy than that which is conversant with the making or selling of commodities."

In showing the benign influences, on both married and single, which may radiate from soldiers' families, we have advanced, by one step, our argument for soldiers' marriages. But the subject has a wider range. In the words of Sir C. Napier, "it affects the health, morality, and strength of our Army in various ways, such as desertion, population, and other points." It affects the stamina, both physical and moral, of our working classes, and our people,—the temper of a nation that to be contented must be virtuous,—the propagating or the spawning power, which is the military, the naval, the commercial, the colonizing power, of the British race.

The Army withdraws from civil society nigh 300,000 men, and prohibits all, except a small percentage, from marrying. The natural proportion of females to males does not however conform to the military code, and surplus females are driven to

prostitution, who as soldiers' wives might have kept their husbands sober, and brought up a robust offspring. But these victims of our Army system unconsciously inflict on it a just retribution. By demoralizing the poor, and sowing the seeds of disease among our labouring classes, and in our recruiting depôts, they debase the progeny of the nation, and swell the invaliding rolls of the Army, and will gradually become the means of sending to it recruits worse tempered, because worse favored, than the strong stalwart men who gained its reputation for prowess. The mass of evil must grow too in volume as it rolls. The soldiers annually discharged will increase the wages of prostitution, and consequently its numbers; men who in the Army were permitted to be incontinent, rather than to marry, cannot, when confirmed in vice, prefer the holy estate of matrimony. These are not mere conjectures, facts support our views. Let us view them first where we can regard them without prejudice, viz. among the French. In the high ratio of soldiers to the working population, in the large numbers that are drawn to the army, only to return after a term of years, with unsettled habits, to civil society, the English and French Armies now closely resemble one another;—if the conscription create a difference it is in favor of the French Army, where the mixture of all classes in the ranks, gives a restraining influence to the educated over the ignorant. The standard height of recruits has been greatly lowered in the French Army, for the population is being exhausted by two causes, viz. the conscription which prevents marriages and a feeling in French society which works out the same results as prostitution, and the restriction on marriages. “The massacres of the first Revolution, and the wars of Napoleon, may sufficiently account for the diminution of the French population up to a recent date, but a new cause is now in operation, tending powerfully to the same result. The old frugality of the French has been banished by the present *régime*, and luxury and extravagance are now the prevailing habit. Saving and hoarding are at an end, and people live up to their means, if not beyond their means. One prudence only is observable, and that is, in avoiding the charges incidental to a number of children. The saying so common in England ‘where Heaven sends mouths it sends meat’ is unknown in France, and the number of mouths to be fed is adjusted strictly to the means of feeding them. A husband and wife have one or two children, or none at all, as *The Times* observes, according to their ideas of what they can afford. Of course then, in proportion to the enlarged expenditure for objects of luxury and show is

‘the circumscribed space for the nursery. * * Every thing cannot be afforded. A choice must be made, and we see what it is. The preferred issue of the French couple are their own favourite pleasures, dress, equipages, good living, gambling. Children would narrow the means for these enjoyments, or leave for them no means whatever, therefore children are not born to curtail their parents’ pleasures, and the want of them is not felt where all is grown to the gratification of vanity and the senses. * * The evil is not confined to the wealthy classes; it descends through all classes with the modification of circumstances. The shopkeeper and his wife, the artisan and his wife, are all, for the vanities and enjoyments within their reach as much as the millionaire and his wife. The occupation for the thoughts, which politics once provided being gone, the general pursuit now is pleasure, and the means of obtaining it by hook or by crook, generally on the miry field of the Bourse. In such a state of things there must be a tendency to every sort of degeneracy, moral and physical; and we may expect to see the French nation, under the sway of its present intensely selfish vices, dwindling more than under the guillotine of the Terrousts or the desultory wars of the first Napoleon. Her declining population is the reproachful record against her.”

For involving England in a like reproach, there is no surer means than prostitution, the correlative of an enforced celibacy in the Army. Let us consider the facts. In England and Wales there were about 450,000 abandoned unfortunates, and among them a large class of widows and others, of whom a well informed authority says;—“They often have to seek a maintenance for helpless orphans, or if the wives of soldiers, by the unnatural rules of the service separated from their husbands, they are left to struggle with abject poverty, suffering with their offspring, privations heart-rending to contemplate, their anticipations still, and ever, wretchedness, their only hope the grave.” The most abandoned of the females swarm in thousands at our naval and recruiting stations, “congregating wherever men are to be found in the greatest number, and especially courting those in the service of the Crown who may be dissevered from chaste wives, or prohibited from lawful wedlock, by those laws and usages which are a curse to the community.” In Woolwich hospital, alone, from 1837 to 1857, there were 31,003 admissions from venereal diseases. But these observations refer to England; and we have yet to realize the grosser temptations of eighty thousand European soldiers in India. Here is a description of oriental vice. “The truth

‘is, your heathen is not only vicious, but plunges deep into the very depths of vice. Vice is not an indulgence simply, it is also a horrible mystery; heathen, and especially oriental nature, is not content with the indulgence, but dives into the mystery. It goes behind the veil, it penetrates into the sanctuary, it searches the inner depths and recesses, it makes discoveries in the horrible interior, it follows up the subject and goes into abominable subtleties and refinements of vice, from which Christian nature even in its worst examples shrinks back. There is something insatiable about heathen vice, and especially oriental vice; it falls unless it is in progress, is always penetrating further, and going beyond its present self. And this is true especially of these two great departments of vice,—lust and cruelty. Who can sound the depths of oriental licence in these two fields? What a horrible shape does vengeance assume in the oriental mind; what epicurean refinements of pain; what exquisite tortures; what subtle agonies has it suggested; what an intricate and acute development it has given to the subject; what a luxury of cruelty has it dived into, brooding pleasurably over its victim, watching the process of suffering, and fostering with tender care the precious seed of hatred, as if it were loth to bring it too soon to maturity, even by the death of the object. This is the mystery of cruelty. We forbear to enter into another mystery connected with the other department of vice just mentioned. The mystery of oriental lust need not be alluded to, to raise horror and awe, as at the idea of something indescribable and inexplicable, we cannot say *supernatural*.”

In the depths of this extreme licentiousness our European soldiers are plunged by native women; till sin when it hath conceived bringeth forth drunkenness and despair, and deep cursings, from hearts which trace their ruin to the restriction on soldiers' marriages. The returns of crime and disease, in a regiment show a much heavier proportion of unmarried than of married, proving incontestably that the men who have wives are infinitely better soldiers; for the restraint of Christian marriage on animal passion, and the purer feelings of the wife, moderate the grossness of rough natures, induce self-control and self-abnegation, create in a word the sanctity of manners which is a strong external defence of virtue, while the chartered libertinism in the ranks, arising from our military usages, generates selfishness and self-indulgence, (sources of ill-temper and crime,) among men who, above all classes, should bear each other's burdens.

To woman, so helpful to the clergyman and the schoolmaster,

—to this her influence in purifying the moral atmosphere and spreading a cheerful contented spirit around her,—we must assign a foremost place in our Army Reform, or else, all other measures for the soldiers' benefit will be nugatory. We read this lesson in our history of the class from which he is taken, the class that multiply marriages in proportion as their wages increase. "There is a true interest now awakened in the welfare of country labourers, which, beginning by providing better schooling, is now directed to their bodily health and their homes. It may seem that provision for their physical wants should have come first, but we believe that precedence has been well given to the spiritual and moral nature. The labourer, by his schooling, has become far better fitted to appreciate the comforts of an improved home. He wants, now, a place for his books, and his bureau, and his arm chair, possessions not dreamt of fifty years ago. His wife can make use both of the oven and the boiler, for little daily luxuries beyond bread and washing, and he has means for purchasing a third bedstead. To have given the boon of a well built cottage to the coarse unlettered hind of the last century would have often been casting pearls before swine, as is literally the case in Ireland, where the best room is allotted to the pig." Here, the wife is the presiding genius that gives a zest to home comforts; and so, too, the sums spent in lodging the soldier will avail little, if not supplemented by a liberal expenditure in educating him, while both sums will be half wasted unless we multiply married men's quarters, remove the restriction on their numbers, and so bring married and single, alike, within reach of home influences, and of the sanctity of manners. The cost of additional barrack room will be met by the decrease of hospital charges and crime both in the Army and in the home population, while the moral results will repay a thousandfold the extra cost of passages and of removing families from one station to another. In fact the last objection has been untenable ever since convicts' families have been conveyed with them by thousands, to the penal settlements, at the public expense.

Nevertheless, the reform is condemned by many military authorities who look to the difficulty of managing soldiers' wives, and to their connivance in bringing liquor into barracks. The objection is rooted in the present degraded state of the soldiery, and will diminish under the ameliorating influences we have considered. It may be corrected, also, by providing proper means of subsistence for soldiers' families. This, however, belongs to the next division of our subject; here we will only note

that the monthly subsistence allowance for the soldier's wife was reduced from eight rupees to the present rate of five rupees when the cost of his own ration, now exceeding ten rupees a month, was only $6\frac{1}{2}$ rupees. •

Why, then, should a reform; in the interests of morals and of the public weal, be longer hindered by prejudices which the advancing tread of time must trample in the dust? In 1857-58, Providence consolidated British rule in India, by placing it more exclusively in British hands, in those who, as having been enlisted for physical soundness and vigour, can propagate the best types of the British race. Why, then, should not the words go forth from our Government to its European soldiery, increase, and multiply, and replenish this land of India, and subdue it, as well by the industrial organizations of yourselves and families in peace, as by your prowess in war.

It is patent to reflecting men that employment for the soldier's vacant hours would diminish drunkenness, but the mass of the soldiery may not perceive this, or seeing it they may shut their eyes to the light. As most of them enlisted from a distaste for steady industry, the mere formation of regimental workshops, instead of correcting their idle habits, might only revive former courses, viz. intervals of work, with longer intervals of drunkenness or debauchery. We must, therefore, stimulate them by hope, the hope of increasing their pension or of buying their discharge with the savings of industry, husbanded for them in a Saving's Bank, or in a Government Assurance Fund. But the work which shall be adequate to sustain this hope must be constant, remunerative, and varied, so that the unskilled as well as the skilled, all who wish to escape from the present or to lay by for the future, may have sufficient work, and sufficient profit from their toil, to speed the day of their discharge, or to increase the provision for their old age. Now, this requires a high organization of labour, to which our officers are unequal, and which in civil life, is effected by the capitalist, trained to his work, and whose faculties are sharpened by self-interest. In place of the capitalist we must have in each regiment an organizer of labour, like Mr. Williams of the Jubbulpore School of Industry, to push the products of labour in the best markets, to allot hundreds of workmen each to his own specialty, and to be watchful of expedients, or of the ever multiplying mechanical inventions, for saving labour. Thus only, can work in a regiment become general, for the mass of the soldiery are agriculturists, weavers, or other inferior workmen. Extensive employment for them depends on labour saving machines. Government for instance might order that clothing for the

whole army be made up in European corps, and that iron work, leather, wood, and sailmaker's work, from other departments, be provided in abundance for the European soldier; but without machines, only a small number in a regiment could profit by the orders; nay the demand might cease from an insufficient complement of tailors, shoemakers, sawyers, blacksmiths, carpenters, and other artificers. With machines on the other hand, private orders as well as Government demands could be executed. Take for illustration the sewing machine, which could fully employ any number of soldiers' families, and male labour besides. The better sort of these machines can make almost every thing for which the needle, or awl is used; upper and under clothing for both sexes, mitts, gloves, caps, boot and shoe-closing, harness, saddlery, carriage furniture, hats, trunks, carpet bags, sacks, sails, &c. "In short an ordinary shuttle machine will stitch equally well, either a shirt collar, or a leather trace for harness, and can be applied to every sort of tailoring or shoe-work," producing stitches from four to forty in an inch, in a moment, and seams of every desired curve and angle. "The only parts of a coat which cannot yet be sewed by the machine are the button holes, and sewing on the buttons." Again;—cotton spun by water power is superior to the product of steam power; and mills for cotton, flax, or flour, moved by wind or water power, might diversify the remunerative employments of the soldiers, locality or other considerations determining the choice of the work. Stone-cutting, weaving, dyeing, and other occupations, will suggest themselves to residents in the Upper Provinces. Dyeing especially invites the application of European skill and labour, under organizers of industry aided by the intelligent counsel of medical officers of European corps. "In favor of the Indian art of dyeing much has been said which a close inquiry will not bear out. Cotton having been for ages the fabric of dress, and coloured cotton petticoats worn by all females but those of rank, while nature has been lavish towards this country in the supply of dyes, it might have been expected that the dyeing and printing of cotton goods would have been brought to a high state of perfection in India; that every effort would, ages ago, have been made by the native dyers to fix durably the splendid dyes their country affords. But the same sleepy adherence to custom is marked in this as in all other trades. Their ignorance and waste of the materials they act upon, and of their own labour, is shown in almost every part of a native dye-work. Their mordants are of uncertain composition, and badly applied. Black and red are their only very durable colours. Their blue dyeing of cotton is so ill performed, that

'a few washings reduce the colour of native blue goods from the deepest to the lightest shade. The reason is that in this, the land of indigo, its use is not thoroughly understood. The blue vat is not properly made, being more a suspension than proper solution of the dye, which does not undergo deoxidation, the apparent change upon which its solubility depends in the English blue vat." We borrow this illustration from Dr. Julius Jeffreys, whose work on the British Army in India abounds with suggestions which if applied by regimental organizers of industry, would make even the dissolute and drunken among our soldiery the civilisers of the East. The requisite buildings and dead stock should be provided by Government; the results would justify the expense, as the outlay could be repaid by the soldiers from the proceeds of their industry. A fair division of profits between them and the superintendent might be easily arranged. Until a conviction for drunkenness the soldier might retain his money; but thereafter he should be allowed to work only on the condition that the whole, or a part of his earnings may, at the discretion of his commanding officer, be placed to his credit in an Assurance Fund, towards an increase of his pension, or towards purchase money for his discharge, or against his discharge without pension. The moral effect of such a rule would be great; it would strengthen the hands of authority, would create a marked distinction, both as to comforts and prospects, between the sober, industrious soldier, and his drunken dissolute comrade, and so would excite a moral feeling among the soldiery,—a powerful public opinion—against drunkenness, which would check it more effectually than the Articles of War. The same feeling, the same opinion precisely, has subdued intemperance in the higher classes of society; and a crowning blow might then be struck, by prohibiting the sale of spirits in canteens.

Industrial organizations, therefore, an increase of marriages amidst so many facilities for supporting a family, regimental schools, and the hope of obtaining through industry and education, the means for an early discharge or a comfortable provision in old age, would raise our European soldiery to the level of the superior working classes in England.

But "one thing thou lackest * * * * follow me!" The Army Reformer must heed this admonition. Improve as we may the condition of the soldier, do what we will to reform him, something will yet remain which mere moral agencies will not reach, breathings of spirit which education will deepen but will not satisfy, restless, and by himself not understood, longings of the soul, which, unless directed to God may be perverted to evil.

Statistics prove that mere education does not prevent crime, and our common sense tells us that in the rough and ready life of the soldier, howsoever improved, in his barrack residence among hundreds, there will be trials of temper, irritation for mind and body, little ills that are hardest to bear and that sour ill regulated minds, but which the soldier may be taught to endure by the religion which inspires a cheerful temper, telling him in whatsoever station of life he is therewith to be content, and breathing of the charity that will bear and forbear.

And in this land where death so often disturbs natural affections by removing their object, causing sad revulsions in some natures, especial need is there for the Heavenly Dove to hover over our barrack places, to tranquillize wills which the tendrils of a human love, ere suddenly snapped, may alone have kept from vice and crime. In the class from which our recruits are drawn, it is not uncommon for the steady sober citizen to sink into evil courses on the death of a loved wife or child.

Or again, our eighty thousand European soldiers, aliens among millions, who uphold British sway by commanding the fears, would double their strength by conciliating the respect, of the masses, through the practice of Christian morality. In war, said Napoleon, the moral force is to the physical, as three to one.

For these reasons, expenditure ought to be liberally incurred for religion. Every regiment should, in general, have a Protestant and a Roman Catholic Chaplain, or where the men are almost exclusively of one persuasion, there might be two chaplains of that persuasion. The chaplains should be permanently attached to the corps, accompanying it to any station, possession, or colony, to which it may be sent. The regiment would be their permanent home, or pastoral charge—many, among the soldiers, would be their children whom they had begotten in the Gospel, all would be their especial flock, whom they must strive to keep, more effectually than is possible with mere restraints of discipline, from evil ways. Withheld by no military law or usage from friendly converse with the soldiers, the chaplain would promote kindly feelings between them and their officers, a more charitable appreciation by the one of the officer's duties and feelings, a more sympathizing concern by the other for the soldier's condition, feelings, difficulties,—that generous respect in fact, for the soldier's lot, which should spread amongst our officers in the degree that the soldier advances in education, intelligence, industry, morals, and self-respect.

The relations between a military chaplain and his flock deserve a moment's study. When the educated Protestant, familiar

with Christian doctrines, awakens to a sense of sin, he enters at once on his new birthright, as one of "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood;" he depends not on his pastor for guidance; the light which he needs he finds in his Bible; the service which most deeply affects him in the ministrations of the Church is the liturgy, not the sermon. But with the ignorant Protestant it is different. When sin disquiets him, he receives from his clergyman the interpretation of the message of pardon and love, and at first, gathers from the pulpit his chief intimations of the new life on which he is entering. The words of the preacher, and his visits, are remembered with gratitude, though with an affection proportioned to the preacher's own fervour, sincerity, and refinement of mind (for, all other conditions being equal, the piety of the educated man imparts to that of the uneducated, more than it can receive from him, by how much his ethical code is more enlightened, and his sympathies are wider in range and grasp, than those of the uninformed.) We may well understand, therefore, the grateful warmth with which the Protestant soldier welcomes even an ordinary zeal and sympathy in his educated chaplain. Now these ties of gratitude, affection, and mutual sympathy, should not be rudely snapped by the separation of the chaplain from the regiment.

The caution is still more necessary in the relations between the Roman Catholic priest and his flock. As the Roman Catholic religion appeals chiefly to external senses and to a superstitious feeling within us, its chief effect on the ignorant is to ensure a strict attention to ceremonials, with but a slight conformity to morals. To induce a christian walk and conversation, the priest must exert his personal influence, in a greater degree than is necessary among Protestants, on each member of his flock. Happily for our Roman Catholic soldiery, the celibacy of the Roman Catholic priest, which cuts him off from other sympathies, concentrates on them, individually, his human affections. For this reason, he, too, should not be parted from his regiment on its moving to another station.

But this individual influence, which the Roman Catholic clergy, generally, would use well and faithfully, cannot be entrusted to Jesuit priests who regard men as instruments for spiritual power. The present system of appointing Roman Catholic chaplains to the Army, should therefore be reformed; the nominations should be taken away from prelates appointed by a Pope who has no diplomatic relations with the British Government; chaplains, Protestant and Roman Catholic, might be appointed in England, and commissioned for the military service. Their discipline should be conducted by a Chaplain Ge-

neral, with Deputies, or through any other gradations of rank that may be necessary. Chaplains of the two communions might have equivalent pay, their previous education and social status generally, being considered; and a family allowance, in addition, may be given to married chaplains. A substantial, if not literal, equality should be observed; to this end, also, an institution, similar to the Lawrence Asylum, might be formed for the children of Roman Catholic soldiers, under the management of army chaplains, and under control of the Chaplain General. Protestant and Roman Catholic soldiers alike, would prize any ecclesiastical institutions which they could consider as peculiarly their own. A similar feeling among the poorer classes is the strength of the English Church, and until recent social and religious changes in Ireland, a like sentiment contributed to the opprobrium of the Irish Church. We shall do well to enlist the feeling, among our soldiery, on the side of discipline, loyalty, and attachment to the State. We would illustrate our remarks by a quotation from an unprejudiced Scotchman; Hugh Miller, in his *First Impressions of England and its People*, observes—"Among the great bulk of the humble people, religion exists not as a vitality—not even as a speculative system—but simply as an undefined hereditary prejudice, that looms large and uncertain, in the gloom of darkened intellects. And to the extent to which this prejudice is influential, it favours the stability of the established Church. The class who entertain it, evince a marked neglect of the Church's services, give no heed to her teachings—rarely enter her places of worship even,—nay, her right has been challenged, to reckon them as adherents at all. They have been described as a neutral party that should be included neither on the census of dissent, nor of the establishment. But to the establishment they decidedly belong. They regard the National Church as theirs, as a Church of which an Englishman may well be proud, and in which, each one of them, some short time before he dies, is to become decent and devout. And there may be much political strength, be it remarked, in prejudices of this character. Protestantism in the Lord George Gordon mobs was but a prejudice, not a religion. These mobs, scarcely less truly in history than as drawn by Dickens, were religious mobs without religion, but the prejudice was notwithstanding, a strong political element which, until a full half century had worn it out of the English mind, rendered concession to the Papists unsafe. We see nearly the same phenomenon exhibited by the Orangemen of Ireland of the present day; a class with whom Protestantism is a vigorous influen-

' tial principle, though it bears scarcely a reference to a world ' to come; and find, in like manner, the Episcopalian prejudice ' strong among the English masses broken loose from religion." Since Hugh Miller wrote, the influence of religion and of the National Church, has strengthened among the poor and in the army.

A superior schoolmaster, two educated clergymen, and two or three medical officers, in a corps, would be the nucleus of an efficient committee for getting up lectures, managing a Reading Room and Library, and forming a Museum like that at Dum-Dum for weapons, tools, country products, and other objects of interest to the soldier in India. A proper tone and direction could thus be given to the mental activity induced by the regimental schools and workshops, while a sheltered gymnasium, bowling alleys, racket courts, shooting galleries, theatricals, regattas, pic-nics, would complete a circle of exercises and amusements for mind and body, which may wean the soldier from debasing enjoyments.

We must now persuade the military financier not to regard ruefully our propositions for a superior schoolmaster, and two clergymen, per corps, and for educational rewards of extra pay, with conditional discharge after a reduced period of service. In an army of educated non-commissioned officers, and well conducted privates, we may expect the following savings;

First. Decrease of deaths from cholera and other epidemics, and a consequent diminution of expense for passage money and recruiting. Men are less liable to contagion, or to the effects of malaria, if in good health and of cheerful temper, than if sickly, depressed in spirits, or unemployed in mind and body.

Second. Decrease of drunkenness, debauchery, and attendant diseases, and of invaliding; with a consequent diminution of hospital charges. The passage money saved by the decrease of invalids, would counterbalance the increased expense for educated soldiers who may be allowed their discharge two years earlier than at present, while England would gain by the return of intelligent, industrious workmen, in place of worn out invalids. Moreover, for every able-bodied soldier who so returns to join the volunteer corps or militia, an effective man might be reduced in the Home Army, and the cost of pensions would also be diminished.

Third. A decrease of the established strength of the European army in India, from a diminution of crime and disease. "In practice" observes Sir W. Mansfield—"it is discovered that ' when the establishment of a battalion in India stands at 1,000 ' rank and file, we never in fact find in the ranks more than ' 750. This is accounted for by the average of the sick and

convalescent lists, the death vacancies, to fill up which is the process of a twelve month, as well as the numerous other vacancies caused by invaliding, discharges, &c. &c." A decrease in the number of soldiers will involve a decrease of establishments, of demands for supplies, and consequently also, of prices, thus saving expenditure on the number reduced, and lessening the rates of expenditure for the residue.

Fourth. A decrease of European officers. With educated non-commissioned officers, and sober, industrious privates, a larger reduction than one Lieutenant Colonel, two Captains, and four Subalterns may be effected. But, even that saving would meet the fixed extra expense we have proposed. The first Napoleon remarked that "soldiers of the British Army are of such a description that only middling non-commissioned officers can be drawn from the ranks, whence they are obliged to multiply their officers beyond all proportion." Brigadier General Jacob pushed this opinion to an extreme length, but confining it within a moderate limit, the saving would still be ample.

We here conclude our argument. When Army Reforms are urged on grounds of humanity and morals, military authorities in England give the stereotyped reply that however motives of humanity, and considerations of policy, might incline them to the reforms, they are not prepared, for the present, to say anything one way or the other. We have endeavoured, therefore, to treat the Education, Marriage, Employment, and Amusements of the soldier, not as matters of sentiment but of cool calculating reason, as elements of military discipline which must be woven in the texture of any substantial Army Reform. Man has pressed the elements of nature into his service. Fire, air, earth, and water are but his ministering servants, to multiply staples of commerce for the support of millions, to speed by the storm wind the fruits of his industry to distant lands, to convey by the lightning messages of peace between nations. It only remains for him to make the angry elements of his own nature, the instruments of his social progress. War is the *vis medicatrix* of society, working off its ill humours with throes more painful than those of bodily disease;—may not the ill humours, themselves, be prevented, if nations would convert their armies into industrial schools for their dangerous classes? "War" says Bulwer Lytton, "is a great evil; but evil is admitted by Providence into the agency of creation, physical and moral. * * Neither is it just to man, nor wisely submissive to the Disposer of all events, to suppose that war is wholly and wantonly produced by human crimes and follies, that it conduces *only* to ill, and does not as often arise from the necessities interwoven in the framework of society, and speed the

'great ends of the human race conformably with the designs of the Omniscient. Not one great war has ever desolated the earth, but has left behind it seeds that have ripened into blessings incalculable." Is it a dream that by cultivating the arts of peace in the Army, we may obtain some of these blessings incalculable, from a source as fruitful but more benignant than the desolation in which War sows them?

"This slight effort in their cause would be spurned by our soldiers, were we to erect a hearty tribute to their Friend "who loved his fellow soldiers better than his own fame and aggrandisement; and has devoted himself with his whole heart to improve their moral and intellectual, as well as physical condition." His deeds testify to this affection, and his fervent advocacy, the careful detail in which he has set forth various schemes for their welfare, evidence his earnestness. Want of space has prevented our reproducing these details, but not the less are we indebted to his Minutes for the substance of our remarks, nor shall we have missed the right spirit for considering the condition of the European soldiery in India, if we have caught but a spark of his enthusiasm in their cause.

